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The Origins of Hatred: An Analysis of Antisemitic Political Cartoons in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna

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THE ORIGINS OF HATRED: AN ANALYSIS OF ANTISEMITIC POLITICAL CARTOONS IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE VIENNA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor
of Arts in History from the College of William and Mary in Virginia,

Meredith Lee Duffy

Accepted for _____

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Williamsburg, Virginia
24 April 2013

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“One cannot express what it is that makes its old streets so unique, its squares so old-fashion ... the Ring so splendid, the gardens so ample, the baroque fountains so indispensable...”

-Poet Rainer Maria Rilke, writing on fin-de-siècle Vienna

“Like you I have an uncontrollable affection for Vienna, but unlike you I know her deep abysses.”

-Sigmund Freud to a friend

Introducing Vienna 1900

To understand Vienna 1900 is to understand a city of dichotomies.¹ Historical introductions to the turn-of-the-century city generally contrast the image of the “Vienna Gloriosa” against the image of its counterpart, the “Vienna Dolorosa.” To the passerby, Vienna was a city of tremendous history, academics, art, and culture – the center of the Austrian Empire and Habsburg Europe. Its broad boulevards were enclosed by Emperor Franz Joseph’s fabled architectural triumph, the *Ringstrasse*, which signified the city’s power. However, one cannot ignore the “Vienna Dolorosa,” a picture of a city grappling with the societal effects of rapid industrialization, the emergence of radical politics, and the dissemination of virulent political antisemitism.

This thesis is concerned with the rise of political antisemitism in fin-de-siècle Vienna, its relationship to emerging nineteenth century European racial theory, and its

¹ For additional background information on fin-de-siècle Vienna, see: F. Morton, *A Nervous Splendour: Vienna 1888-1889* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980); T. Edwards, *The Blue Danube: The Vienna of Franz Joseph and Its Aftermath* (New York: Hale, 1973); W. Frischauer, *Twilight in Vienna: The Capital Without a Country* (Chicago: Houghton Mifflin, 1938).

manifestation in antisemitic political cartoons. An examination of Vienna's satirical press, most notably the antisemitic newspaper *Kikeriki!*, indicates the creation of a racial hierarchy that contrasts the racially-superior European against the racially-inferior Viennese Jew. This hierarchy is based upon the eighteenth century separation of global populations into the white, yellow, and black races. Yet, notably absent from this categorization of foreign populations is the Viennese Jew, who comprised a significant part of fin-de-siècle Vienna's intellectual, economic, and political spheres. This thesis argues Viennese political cartoonists envisioned European Jewry as subhuman and monstrous when compared to European, African, and Asian populations. Such visualization is consistent with both nineteenth century changes to European racial theory and larger societal trends.

In the aftermath of World War Two, historians looked to fin-de-siècle Vienna as the breeding grounds of a political antisemitism that would culminate in the early twentieth century with the passage of the Nuremburg Laws. Adolf Hitler's reflections on political antisemitism in *Mein Kampf* drew attention from scholars seeking to explain the rationality and motivation behind the Holocaust. Initial studies sought to capture the nature of Viennese antisemitism, a term that in itself is notoriously difficult to define. Steven Beller indicates this difficulty, writing:

Antisemitism is a hatred of Jews that has stretched across millennia and across continents; or is it a relatively modern political movement and ideology that arose in Central Europe in the late 19th century and achieved its evil apogee in the Holocaust; or it is the irrational, psychologically pathological version of an ethnocentric and religiocentric anti-Judaism that originated in Christianity's conflict with its Jewish roots – and achieved its evil apogee in the Holocaust; is it a combination of all of these. It all depends on how one defines the term.²

² Beller, Steven, *Antisemitism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

As this thesis will demonstrate, at certain points in history, Viennese antisemitism has embodied nearly all elements of the above definition. However, this essay is primarily concerned with antisemitism's transition from a religious-based ideology to vehicle for political prejudice during the late nineteenth century.³

Despite the prominence of Viennese antisemitism, relatively few articles have examined its manifestation in political cartoons.⁴ Yet, as Curticaean notes, the political cartoon is “a rich source of societal stereotypes,” an object that questions “the dominant way of thinking.”⁵ The antisemitic cartoon is therefore both significant for its insight into European, particularly Jewish, stereotypes and its role in disseminating prejudice to the German population. Yet historians, such as John W. Boyer and Edward F. Kravitt, argue that at the turn-of-the-century, antisemitism and the antisemitic press remained confined to the fringes of society. However, the diffusion of antisemitism via political cartoons, as indicated below, appears to have reached significant portions of Viennese society: both Adolf Hitler and Mark Twain comment on the presence of the antisemitic press. Therefore, this thesis also to provides greater insight into a comparatively understudied, but significant component of Viennese antisemitism.

³ A more complete definition of political antisemitism will be provided in the first chapter.

⁴ The most relevant study to date on Viennese political cartoons is Jeffery W. Beglaw's thesis, entitled, “The German National Attack on the Czech Minority in Vienna, 1897-1914, as Reflected in the Satirical Journal *Kikeriki*, and its Role as a Centrifugal Force in the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary.” In his analysis, Beglaw indicates the dearth of historical literature on Viennese political cartoons and cartoon newspapers, writing “in all my research, I could not find and book or article that looks at this paper [*Kikeriki!*] in detail.” For additional information, see: J. Belgaw, “The German National Attack on the Czech Minority in Vienna, 1897-1914, as Reflected in the Satirical Journal *Kikeriki*, and its Role as a Centrifugal Force in the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary,” (M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1996).

⁵ Curticaean, Alina, “Walls Doors and Exciting Encounters,” in *Images in Use*, Stocchetti, Matteo and Kukkonen, Karen, ed. (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 133.

This thesis opens with a discussion of relevant background information pertaining to fin-de-siècle Vienna, focusing on the historiography surrounding the rise of political antisemitism and European racial theory. Chapter One captures the evolution of twentieth-century Viennese historiography, the development of nineteenth-century political antisemitism, the rise of European racial theory, and emergence of the Viennese anti-Semitic press. The chapter argues nineteenth-century Viennese political antisemitism diverged from traditional, religious-based European antisemitism. This change is apparent in Viennese political cartoons, in which Jews are discriminated against on the basis of perceived economic prosperity and racial differences as opposed to traditional religious difference.

The second chapter demonstrates the formation of a racial hierarchy within Viennese political cartoons, beginning with the cartoon of the German national, who embodies the racial ideal, and concluding with the visualization of the Jew as the ultimate enemy: a world-dominating monster. Although African and Asians are racially degraded to the point of appearing sub-human, these populations existed separate from European society whereas the Jew lived among Europeans. Using cartoons from Viennese satirical newspapers, including *Kikeriki!*, *Der Floh*, and *Die Bombe*, this chapter indicates the prevalence of antisemitism across society and its evolution in the European mentality over time. By the turn-of-the-century, the Jew was no longer the amiable neighbor, but a threat to the preservation of the European race.

“People who were not born then will find it difficult to believe, but the fact is that even then time was moving faster than a cavalry camel ... But in those days, no one knew what it was moving towards. Nor, could anyone distinguish between what was above and what was below, between what was moving forward and what backward.”

-Robert Musil describing the Austrian fin-de-siècle

Chapter One: Setting the Stage, Vienna 1900

To fully understand Viennese antisemitic political cartoons, one must first understand the environment in which they were produced. The cultural and intellectual atmosphere associated with fin-de-siècle Vienna has been the topic of historical interest since the publication of Carl Schorske's monumental work, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1961). Schorske and his successors broadened historical knowledge of Vienna's modernist culture and the important role of Jewish society. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief overview of Viennese historiography, commencing with a discussion of Schorske's thesis and an evaluation of the flaws related to his presentation of Jewish society.⁶ Acknowledging the holes within historiography is important for both future research and situating this thesis into the grander subject of fin-de-siècle Viennese political and social history. The remaining

⁶ A complete discussion of the historiographical works related to fin-de-siècle Vienna is a thesis in itself. Steven Beller's *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001) provides the most comprehensive overview of historiographical works.

sections will provide necessary background information on political antisemitism, racial theory, and the Viennese press pertinent to understanding the antisemitism and racial theory exhibited in the cartoons.

A Brief Introduction to Viennese Historiography

At the turn of the twentieth century, imperial Vienna was commonly regarded as the cultural, economic, and political capital of Central Europe. Under the control of Habsburg Emperor Franz Joseph, the city of two million boasted thriving intellectual and artistic communities, which produced thinkers and artists such as Sigmund Freud, Gustav Klimt, and Gustav Mahler. Yet, the continuation of “high culture and archaic institutions” on a continent trending towards modernity has prompted some historians to label the city as “an anachronism.”⁷ Whether fin-de-siècle Vienna was a continuation of antiquated historical trends, “the focal point of European modernism,” or another entity is the subject of historiographical debate.⁸ This section provides a brief historiographical overview of fin-de-siècle Vienna, addressing Schorske’s *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* and subsequent responses to his work.

Published in 1961, Schorske’s *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* redefined the study of modern intellectual history, bringing the city to the forefront of historical study. Until *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, analyses of fin-de-siècle Vienna were relatively unseen outside of European academic communities. Schorske’s work seeks to explain why fin-de-siècle Vienna’s “great intellectual innovators ... all broke, more or less deliberately,

⁷ Schorske, Carl. *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

⁸ Ackerl, Isabella, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, trans. Erika Obermayer (Vienna: Federal Press Service, 1999), 4.

their ties to the historical outlook central to the nineteenth century liberal culture in which they had been reared.”⁹ He argues the decline of liberal politics forced intellectuals to break with historical traditions to instill revolutionary new political and artistic values on society.¹⁰ To support this claim, Schorske presents evidence from across disciplines, drawing numerous examples from politics, art, and psychoanalysis. Yet, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, as explained below, fails to adequately address the contributions of Jewish society to Viennese culture. Despite this flaw, the Schorskean model of the multidisciplinary approach and emphasis on cultural history continues to influence modern historical analysis.

Despite the emergence of weaknesses in Schorske’s analysis, his thesis remained largely unchallenged until John W. Boyer reinterpreted the political history of Karl Lueger and the Christian Social Party.¹¹ Boyer’s *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (1981) provides a well-researched political history, focusing on local Viennese politics as opposed to the city’s situation on the grander stage of Austrian and Central European history. His research directly challenges Schorske’s

⁹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, xviii.

¹⁰ Schorske’s argument is most commonly referred to as “the death of liberalism” thesis within secondary literature.

¹¹ Although *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* is considered the definitive study in Austrian intellectual history, publications in the following decade utilized the Schorskean model to provide a deeper understanding of Viennese culture. These works generally confirmed Schorske’s death of liberalism thesis; Johnston’s *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972) utilized a multidisciplinary, encyclopedic approach that popularized prominent Austrian intellectual themes and figures. Johnston supports Schorske’s argument, claiming turn-of-the-century thinkers “betrayed affinity with such Viennese traditions as aestheticism, the cult of nostalgia, and the preference for diagnosis over therapy.”¹¹ Published the following year, Janik and Toulmin’s *Wittgenstein’s Vienna* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1973) perpetuated the theme of Vienna as a center of modernism through an in-depth examination of Austrian-English philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. Yet, this nuanced approach served as a double-edged sword for Schorske’s thesis as it uncovered details that began to undermine elements of the so-called Schorskean paradigm. For additional information, see: *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).

interpretation of Lueger, who is portrayed in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* as separating from liberal tradition to introduce a previously unseen, “mass” form of politics to the city’s political sphere. In the Preface to *Political Radicalism*, Boyer questions whether Lueger’s “politics of language [was] a truly novel phenomenon” or if it was “an old political language thrust into a new social interest and social class situation?”¹² Boyer’s selective focus on Viennese politics confirms the latter statement by differentiating Lueger from the forerunner to the modern dictator depicted in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*.

While *Political Radicalism* began to unravel aspects of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, the “failure of liberalism” thesis avoided staunch opposition until the publication of Steven Beller’s *Vienna and the Jews* (1989). Although he acknowledges the merits of the Schorskean model, Beller critiques Schorske’s thesis through an examination of Jewish culture. As discussed by Janik in “Vienna 1900 Revisited,” Beller’s argument can be summarized as such: the city’s “assimilated Jewry (1) was in fact the ‘soul’ of Vienna’s liberal intelligentsia and (2) deserted neither liberalism nor morality, even if it did not attain political power.”¹³ Beller’s analysis challenged the core of the Schorskean paradigm by indicating that Jewish society was a critical component of fin-de-siècle Vienna. By proving that Viennese Jewry did not abandon liberalism through the turn-of-the-century, Beller draws from nearly a decade’s worth of studies on Viennese Jewish history to effectively disprove Schorske’s primary argument.

The challenges to the Schorskean paradigm that emerged during the late twentieth century have led to a general acceptance within the academic community

¹² Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, xii.

¹³ Janik, Allan, “Vienna 1900 Revisited,” in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. John W. Boyer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 29.

that *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*'s "death of liberalism" thesis is no longer a viable, all-encompassing explanation of the period. As Beller suggests in the introduction to *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (2001), "by 1990 the Schorskean model of Vienna 1900 was in trouble ... many of its theoretical assumptions were being questioned and found suspect."¹⁴ *Rethinking Vienna* offers historiographical essays that revisit and critique traditional interpretations of the period while seeking to find an alternative explanation, if any, to Schorske's thesis. The opening chapters of *Rethinking Vienna* indicate numerous analytical holes within the Schorskean paradigm. As these chapters suggest, Schorske's most egregious flaws appear in his interpretation of Viennese Jews and the rise of antisemitism. However, as Janik and Beller note, modern historians have encountered difficulty developing a viable, alternative explanation of the period.

Most significant to this essay are Schorske's flaws in relating the decline of liberalism to the rapid rise of antisemitism and the reaction of Viennese Jewry. Despite the significant link between Judaism and liberalism, the rise of Jewish society and antisemitism receives little page space in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Schorske develops Viennese antisemitism primarily through an analysis of prominent political figures, an approach that Beller notes, "acknowledged the Jewish dimension, but [tended] to neglect the implications of it."¹⁵ Through an examination of notable antisemites George von Schönerer and Karl Lueger, Schorske captures the essence of the mass politics that led to the development of widespread political antisemitism. However,

¹⁴ Beller, Stephen, "Introduction" in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. John W. Boyer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

this argument fails to adequately capture the nuances and ambiguities of Viennese antisemitism.

An additional flaw within *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* is Schorske's failure to consider the unique social position of Vienna's Jewish population and its impact on the development of modernist politics and culture. Similar to his explanation of antisemitism, Schorske examines Jewish society through an analysis of prominent figures, including Sigmund Freud and Theodor Herzl. His approach primarily utilizes the Jewish population as evidence to support the decline of liberalism thesis. This argument contradicts Beller's claim that "the number of individuals at the top level of Viennese culture ... who are of at least partly Jewish descent is so large that it cannot be ignored."¹⁶ Therefore, it is necessary to understand the intricacies and perspectives of Jewish society in order to comprehend their actions and reactions to turn-of-the-century political and social changes, most importantly the rise of antisemitism.

Although *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* fails to adequately capture Jewish society, the popularization of the city within historical literature incited an outpouring of research on Jewish culture. These works of Marsha Rozenblit, Robert Wistrich, Steven Beller, and George Berkley emphasize two primary themes: (1) the importance of Jews as members of fin-de-siècle culture and (2) the degree to which antisemitism affected the internal and external workings of Jewish society. Rozenblit's *The Jews of Vienna 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (1983) compiled the first comprehensive study of the city's Jewish population, utilizing statistical data to highlight social and economic variation within pre-war Jewish society. Rozenblit convincingly challenges the prevailing historical argument that Viennese Jews were fully integrated into the

¹⁶ Beller, Steven, *Vienna and the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4.

city's culture, instead noting that Jews utilized the decades of the late nineteenth century to "redefine themselves as a group within European society."¹⁷ As Rozenblit and subsequent studies demonstrate, investigating Jewish perspectives is critical to understand their involvement in artistic culture and the gradual rise of antisemitism.

The Rise of Political Antisemitism

Steeped in its traditional roots, Vienna possessed a thriving political scene dominated by Mayor Karl Lueger, an admitted antisemite, and the Austrian Christian Social Party. The prevalence of politics in the turn-of-the-century city drew criticism from American author Mark Twain, who noted, "the atmosphere is brimful of political electricity ... all conversation is political ... and out of this multitude of counsel you get merely confusion and despair."¹⁸ Early twentieth-century Viennese politics contained increasingly radical antisemitic aspects, which were influenced by the widespread dissemination of antisemitism in the city's intellectual, economic, and political spheres. Despite historical association as a precursor to the hostile, antisemitic German National Socialist movement, John W. Boyer indicates a general amiability between Viennese and Jewish society, writing, "the prewar Gentile might approach the Jewish community ... with hostility, but also with a grudging respect for their energy, industry, and general stability."¹⁹ Yet, the rise of political antisemitism

¹⁷ Rozenblit, Marsha, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983), 10.

¹⁸ Twain, Mark. "Stirring Times in Austria," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 96 (1898): 30-40.

¹⁹ Boyer, John W, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), 73.

would ultimately shape the German perception and relationship with Jewish society.²⁰

The definition of political antisemitism discussed in this thesis refers to the “new,” unseen form of antisemitism that arose prior to the turn-of-the-century and is distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) the rise of mass politics, (2) the identification of Jewish society as the source of social, economic, and political discontent (the scapegoat theory), and (3) the utilization of Jewish society as a vehicle for political change.²¹ Therefore, as Bruce F. Pauley notes, modern political antisemitism “was no longer simply an emotion or religious prejudice ... but ... a political program and a justification for political action.”²² The mass politics developed by Lueger and the Christian Social Party ushered in the era of modern politics.²³ Viennese mass politics were initially characterized by Lueger’s energetic antisemitic speeches, which spread critical concepts – such as the notion of Jewish society as responsible for societal problems – to the general population.²⁴

²⁰ Theories on the rise of political antisemitism are divided between the notion of (1) antisemitism as a premeditated occurrence instilled on the population by political elite or (2) antisemitism as a ‘spontaneous’ occurrence arising from a combination of unforeseen circumstances. Historical evidence, particularly the manipulation of Jewish identity for political gain by Karl Lueger and Georg von Schönerer, place Vienna in the prior category. For further information on theories behind the rise of political antisemitism, see P. Pulzer, *The Rise of Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); B. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Antisemitism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); and, W. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Antisemitism in Europe Before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²¹ In this paper, the term political antisemitism is most commonly referred to as the form of antisemitic prejudice that arose in the late nineteenth century. For other interpretations of political antisemitism, see: B. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Antisemitism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992)

²² Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: a History of Austrian Antisemitism*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992), 27.

²³ For a complete definition of mass politics, see J. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 369-373.

²⁴ The perception of Jewish society as the root of societal problems is most commonly referred to as the scapegoat theory. John F. Doherty writes, “the theory states that prejudice is based on aggression due to frustration” (Doherty, 486). The scapegoat theory is primarily associated

However, a definition of political antisemitism cannot ignore the manipulation of Jewish society by political elites. This aspect of political antisemitism is aptly described by Oscar Karabach, who notes elite tactics included “isolating the Jews as a distinctive political unit for the purpose of using them as a king’s pawn on the chessboard of domestic and foreign intrigue.”²⁵ Writing in the immediate aftermath of World War II, Karabach names antisemitic politician Georg von Schönerer as the founder of modern political antisemitism. While Schönerer united antisemitism and politics, his often-hostile antisemitic policies failed to resonate within mainstream Viennese society, resulting in “the negative definition of his position” and loss of “political footing and influence.”²⁶ Thus, historians acknowledge Karl Lueger as the leader of political antisemitism, due to his use of Jewish society as both an outlet for political frustration and pawn in the rise of the Christian Social Party. The transition of antisemitism from the religious to political sphere, where politicians used it as a tool for legislative and political gain, indicates one of the major differences between modern antisemitism and its historic roots.

This section investigates instances of intellectual, religious, economic, and racial antisemitism in fin-de-siècle Vienna. It seeks to portray, as described by Allan Janik, the “abstract character of Austrian antisemitism,” which was “directed more at a

with the rise of German National Socialism, which targeted Jewish society as the source of economic instability following World War One. However, as John Boyer notes, this theory cannot be omitted from a study of fin-de-siècle Vienna. For additional information on the scapegoat theory, see: J. Doherty, “The Roots of Prejudice,” *Philippine Studies* 15 (1967): 483-491.

²⁵ Karabach, Oscar, “The Founder of Modern Political Antisemitism: Georg von Schönerer.” *Jewish Social Studies* 7 (1945), 4.

²⁶ Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945* (Bantam, 1986).

cliché than at individuals.”²⁷ Drawing from John W. Boyer’s *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (1981), the following analysis highlights the series of political and societal changes in the late nineteenth century that contributed to the conceptualization of the Jewish population as a separate, non-German race.²⁸ This section begins with a brief history of antisemitism in the Austrian Empire, emphasizing the traditional role of the Catholic Church. The remaining subsections evaluate various manifestations of Viennese political antisemitism, indicating its prevalence in nearly all aspects of society.

A Brief History of Austrian Antisemitism

While European antisemitism dates to the Roman Empire, antisemitism in Vienna and the Austrian Empire emerged during the twelfth century. Assessing the evolution of Austrian antisemitism, Rebeca Wiener claims, “Jews have a mixed history, ... ranging from prosperity to persecution.”²⁹ Early instances of antisemitism were religiously motivated, often stemming from “the intolerance of the Catholic Church.”³⁰ Crusaders, acting with the blessing of Pope Urban III, massacred Shlom, the first recorded Austrian Jew, along with other Jewish immigrants in 1195.³¹ In a less violent medieval political decree, King Rudolf I von Habsburg seized control of Jewish property through the Mandate of on the Property of Fleeing Jews (1268),

²⁷ Janik, Allan, “From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Antisemitism by Bruce F. Pauley,” *Central European History* 28 (1995): 243-245.

²⁸ For a complete description of political antisemitism in pre-war Vienna (1900-1918), see Boyer’s subsequent publication: *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1867-1938* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

²⁹ Weiner, Rebecca, “The Virtual Jewish History Tour: Vienna,” last modified 2013, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Vienna.html>.

³⁰ Fraenkel, Josef, *The Jews of Austria: Essays on their life, history, and destruction* (New York: Vallentine Mitchell, 1967), ix.

³¹ *Ibid.*, n. pag.

which declares that the state would “take ... into our hands” all Jewish “possessions, belongings, and movable and immovable property.”³² While Jewish maltreatment continued throughout the medieval period, it dissipated in Vienna, which was one of the few European cities that did not accuse Jews of causing The Black Death.³³

Until the late nineteenth century, Viennese Jews experienced several centuries of success, gaining significant standing and influence within society. The liberal policies of Emperor Joseph II relaxed, but did not eliminate, regulations passed by Empress Maria Theresa, a strict antisemite. Joseph II’s Edict of Toleration (1781) constituted the first political decree to grant Austrian Jews protection and societal advancement, stating:

Since it is Our wish to place the Jewish nation, through these concessions, on a footing of near-equality with the followers of other foreign religions in respect of their occupations and the enjoyment of civic and domestic amenities, We do earnestly exhort them to observe strictly all political, civic, and judicial laws of the land ... and We look to their sense of duty and their gratitude that they do not misuse this Our grace and the freedom ... and nowhere to offend the Christian religion.³⁴

While the document did not allow complete political and social equality, it permitted degrees of freedom not available during the medieval period. Despite forward social progress, Pulzer claims late eighteenth-century antisemitic backlash was confined to “sporadic outbreaks of Jew-baiting” as opposed to an organized political movement.³⁵ Even though Joseph II advocated for the toleration of all peoples, the failure to grant complete equality to minority populations ensured degrees of political and social stratification continued to separate Jewish from Austrian society.

³² Kaiser Rudolf I von Habsburg, “Mandate on the Property of Fleeing Jews,” 6 December 1286.

³³ Weiner, “*Virtual Jewish History Tour- Vienna.*”

³⁴ Kaiser Joseph II, “Joseph II Edict of Toleration,” 2 January 1782.

³⁵ Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*, ix.

Political advancements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided the means through which Jewish citizens could receive legislative representation. For the first time in Austrian history, the Jewish population attained equal rights and the ability to participate in government. This success was primarily accomplished with the passage of the Austrian Constitution of the Reich (1867), which declared: “for all ... kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrat ... all citizens are equal before the law.”³⁶ The Constitution granted political and social equality, effectively altering a political system that had traditionally excluded minorities.³⁷ However, once again, antisemitic backlash was not the immediate societal response; Pauley argues, “few Jews, or for that matter, probably even non-Jews, would have predicted [at that time] ... that twenty years later antisemitism would once again be rampant among both the Austrian elite and masses.”³⁸ Yet, an increasingly conservative political atmosphere, the product of declining liberal politics and economic discontent, fostered the development of political antisemitism.

Although European liberal politics declined following the 1848 Revolutions, they persevered within the Austrian Empire until the end of the nineteenth century. Liberalism had been intrinsically linked to Jewish society since its conception during the Enlightenment. Steven Beller confirms this point, noting, “the fortunes of the

³⁶ “Fundamental Law Concerning the German Rights of Citizens: Austrian Constitution of 1867” in Farleigh, Walter Dodd, ed., *Modern Constitutions: A Collection of the Fundamental Laws of Twenty-two of the Most Important Countries of the World, With Historical and Bibliographical Notes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909).

³⁷ With the passage of universal male suffrage in 1907, Jewish males gained full, unhindered access to the country’s political sphere.

³⁸ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 26.

Jewish emancipation were intimately bound up with ... liberalism.”³⁹ Liberalism found support among Austria’s wealthy middle and upper classes; yet, it critically failed to establish a basis among the rapidly growing working classes and the Catholic Church. Robert Kann notes the successes of the liberal regime, which “led the monarchy from the bankruptcy of 1866 to the somewhat superficial and showy prosperity of the ‘70s and ‘80s.”⁴⁰ However, at the end of the century, liberalism’s primary supporters were reduced to middle-class Germans and Jews living in the country’s urban centers. The deterioration of liberalism is frequently acknowledged as one of the precursors to political antisemitism. Menachem Z. Rosensaft indicates this relationship, stating, “they [Jews] became so identified with the [liberal] party that its opponents were able to use antisemitism as a highly effective weapon against the Liberals.”⁴¹ Therefore, the rise of reactionary politics had a significant correlation with the breeding of political antisemitism among the Viennese population.

Changing demographics in the late nineteenth century created an ethnically and religiously diverse society.⁴² Advancements in transportation drew immigrants to Vienna, allowing the city to become a melting pot of scientific, cultural, and political

³⁹ Beller, Steven, *Vienna and the Jews*, 122. For a complete account on the linkage between Jewish society and liberalism, see Steven Beller’s chapter entitled “Liberalism and the Jew” in *Vienna and the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ Kann, Robert, “German Speaking Jewry during Austria Hungary’s Constitutional Era (1867-1918),” *Indiana University Press* 10 (1948): 241.

⁴¹ Rosensaft, Menachen Z. “Jews and Antisemites in Austria at the end of the Nineteenth Century,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 21 (1976).

⁴² Census reports indicate that between 1870 and 1910 the city’s population doubled from 900,000 to more than two million residents. Brigitte Hamann provides a statistical breakdown of the city’s Jewish population in 1890, noting Vienna’s 118,500 Jewish residents composed 8.7% of the city’s total population. For additional Viennese population information, including statistics on the city’s other ethnic minorities, see: J. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); B. Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna: A Dictator’s Apprenticeship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

ideas. Many of these migrants were of Jewish descent, drawn by an “intellectual tension” that “made Vienna the place where immigrants from Eastern Europe yearned to go.”⁴³ Rapid urbanization led to the expansion of salons, cafes, and universities, which created an environment ripe for discussion and intellectual stimulation. This atmosphere led historian Peter Gay to describe fin-de-siècle Vienna as “a city vibrant with intellect and sex.”⁴⁴ Gay’s lighthearted statement aptly captures the unique atmosphere of a city that would inspire art, architecture, music, and literature.

A Medium for Discontent: Intellectual Antisemitism

By 1900, Vienna had produced scientists, artists, and musicians whose work influenced the intellectual development of modern Europe. History acknowledges Vienna as the birthplace of a cultural and artistic modernism that gave rise to the Secessionist art movement and modern psychology.⁴⁵ Fin-de-siècle culture is noted for its close entwinement with Jewish society; numerous Viennese Jews served as art patrons, academics, scientists, composers, and artists. Therefore, it is unsurprising that antisemitism entwining both intellectual discrimination and racial prejudice emerged from this environment.⁴⁶ This section explores intellectual antisemitism, or the

⁴³ Ackerl, Isabella, “Vienna Modernism 1890-1911,” 11.

⁴⁴ Gay, Peter, *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (New York, 1978), 30.

⁴⁵ For additional information on fin-de-siècle culture, artists, and their relationship to cultural modernism, see: W. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) and Le Rider, J, *Modernity and the Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Continuum, 1993).

⁴⁶ As discussed below, German composer Richard Wagner perhaps best exemplifies the link between racism and antisemitism, especially as it relates to the European intellectual sphere. Wagner’s racial theory combines music, antisemitism, and racism; Leon Stein explains this concept in greater detail, writing: “in the racial outlook of Richard Wagner we are confronted with the concepts of “Volk,” language, “Kultur,” anti-Christianity, anti-Semitism, anti-Mendelssohnism, that resolve themselves into one complex, with reciprocal interrelationships

discrimination against Jewish academics and artwork on the basis of religion or race.⁴⁷

Similar to the growing antisemitic political movement, fringe segments of Vienna's intellectual sphere sought to exclude the perceived Jewish cultural elite by degrading and criticizing the imagined inferiority of Jewish artwork.

Prior to the turn-of-the-century, Jewish intellectuals avoided significant academic or artistic criticism, identifying themselves primarily with Enlightenment ideals, which supported notions of equality. Yet, at the turn of the twentieth-century, perceived Jewish dominance in the intellectual sphere did not go unnoticed. Jewish intellectuals, as Beller notes, were recognized members of the European cultural elite, a notion that deeply troubled certain segments of Viennese society. Growing racist and antisemitic movements used Jewish success in the intellectual sphere as a vehicle for prejudice. An anonymous 1887 pamphlet received by racist, antisemitic German composer Richard Wagner condemned the commandeering of German society by Jews, stating:

Modern journalism and Romanticism have utterly conquered the freethinking Jewish and Christian worlds. I include the freethinking Jewish world – for in fact German Jewry is working so forcefully, so colossally, and so tirelessly on the new culture and science that, consciously or unconsciously, the majority of Christendom is being led by Jews.⁴⁸

– all oriented around music, yet extending into every aspect of life, German life in particular” (ix). For additional information on Wagner's racial theories and their relationship to antisemitism and racism, see: L. Stein, *The Racial Thinking of Richard Wager* (Philosophical Library Inc: New York, 1950).

⁴⁷ A complete discussion of Jewish intellectual discrimination and race will be provided in the concluding section, “At Society's Fringe: Racism and Pan-German Nationalism at the Fin-de-Siècle.” For more on racism and antisemitism, see: J. Lester, “Racism, Anti-Semitism, and the Concept of Evil,” University of Massachusetts Amherst (2000); L. Back and J. Solomos, eds., *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁸ Wagner qtd in Spector, Scott, “Modernism without Jews: A Counter-Historical Argument,” *Modernism/Modernity* 13 (2006).

Comments regarding Jewish societal dominance were also common in Vienna, where Jews constituted a small, but growing portion of the city's population. Throughout the late nineteenth-century, art critics, antisemites, and racists sought to exclude Jews from the art sphere by targeting Jewish intellectuals.

By the turn-of-the-century, the adjective "Jewish" was increasingly used as a derogatory term to describe Jewish writings, musical compositions, and artwork. Evidence of such discrimination appears in the writings of both Viennese Jewish and German intellectuals. For example, German socialite and composer Alma Mahler-Werfel criticizes Jewish musical compositions, deeming them "too Jewish" for her taste.⁴⁹ Similarly, reflecting upon his youth in Vienna, Adolf Hitler notes the "unclean products" of Jewish art.⁵⁰ Such accusations of Jewish artistic talent built upon those originally asserted by Richard Wagner, whose controversial essay "*Das Judentum in der Musik*" (1850) criticized Jewish composers for a lack of originality in their compositions.⁵¹ Thus, Jewish artwork was increasingly viewed as inferior and in competition with German artwork.

Jewish intellectuals often acknowledged the pervasiveness of Viennese antisemitism. In his autobiography, Sigmund Freud notes antisemitic prejudice, writing, "when, in 1873, I first joined the University ... I found that I was expected to

⁴⁹ Mahler-Werfel, Alma, *Diaries, 1898-1902*, Trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999). Mahler-Werfel's diaries, as an English translated source from fin-de-siècle Vienna, provide excellent insight into city's intellectual culture and growing anti-Semitic movement. Although married to Jewish composer Gustav Mahler, Mahler-Werfel's writings contain derogatory and hostile antisemitic remarks that are indicative of the intellectual antisemitism described in this thesis.

⁵⁰ Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, (Munich, 1932), 76.

⁵¹ Libo, Kenneth and Skakun, Micahel, "Richard Wagner's Antisemitism," Center for Jewish History.

feel myself inferior and alien because I was a Jew.”⁵² Despite the monumental importance of his research on modern psychoanalysis, Freud’s works were unable to rise above the discrimination associated with his religion and supposed race.⁵³ Similarly, antisemitic pressure forced Viennese composer Gustav Mahler to convert to Catholicism in 1902. During his tenure as director of the Viennese Court Opera, Mahler received vicious attacks arguing flaws in his performances were directly related to his Jewish heritage. Such criticisms entwined Jewish intellectual products with notions of race, which is discussed at length in the concluding section, “At Society’s Fringe: Pan-German Nationalism and Racial Antisemitism.”

Fin-de-Siècle Catholic Politics: The Perpetuation of Religious Antisemitism

The conservative nature of fin-de-siècle politics constructed a favorable environment for antisemitic dialogue. Despite church decline throughout Europe, the Catholic Church remained influential within Austrian state and local politics. This section chronicles the development of Viennese political Catholicism, a term used to describe the infiltration of religion into European politics, and its influence on the rise of political antisemitism.⁵⁴ As Boyer’s *Political Radicalism* argues, the religious

⁵² Freud, Sigmund, *An Autobiographical Study* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1952), 7.

⁵³ Writing on Freud and the influence of antisemitism, William Olmstead notes, “*The Interpretation of Dreams* is haunted by the spectre of antisemitism and shows Freud’s awareness of the often sensational anti-Semitic developments that were unfolding while he wrote.” For additional information on Freud and anti-Semitism, see: W. Olmstead, “Turning the Tables: Freud’s Response to Antisemitism in *The Interpretation of Dreams*,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 54 (2009): 191-216.

⁵⁴ Political Catholicism is defined as the process of promoting Catholic social and political values in local or national-level politics. Its origins in fin-de-siècle Vienna, as Ilsa Barea notes,

component that spurred political antisemitic development did not spontaneously emerge during the late nineteenth century and was instead the culmination of decades of political change. Although historians like Pauley and Pulzer cite Catholic, or religious, antisemitism as a fairly insignificant factor preceding political antisemitism, Boyer provides substantial evidence indicating a strong relationship between Catholic politics and political antisemitism.

Even though the Austrian Constitution granted Jews freedom of worship, deep racism and religious intolerance persisted within the Catholic Church. Like the often-contradictory nature of Viennese antisemitism, Pauley claims the church would identify “first with Jews and then hold the Jews responsible.”⁵⁵ As previously noted, this intolerance stemmed from the popular belief that Jews were responsible for the death of Christ and traditional discrimination against members of a non-Christian faith. Describing the situation of the Catholic Church in the late nineteenth century, Rosensaft states, “the Roman Catholic clergy remained one of Austria’s most influential institutions ... and Christian anti-Jewish teachings continued to be very much in evidence.”⁵⁶ Clergy members appealed to German society’s long-perpetuated fear of Jewish religious domination to incite antisemitic uprising. Yet, perhaps more significant, was the lower clergy members’ role in spreading antisemitic notions

emerged from the radical clericalism of the mid-19th century. For additional information on political Catholicism, see: J. Boyer, “Political Catholicism in Austria, 1180-1960,” *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, 13 (2004): 6-36; W. Bowman, “Religious Associations and the Formation of Political Catholicism in Vienna, 1848 to 1870s,” *Austrian History Yearbook*, 27 (1996).

⁵⁵ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 39.

⁵⁶ Rosensaft, “Jews and Antisemites in Austria at the end of the Nineteenth Century,” 68. Liberal politics were frequently viewed as in continual opposition to the Catholic Church. The German *Kulturkampf*, an anti-Catholic movement conducted by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck’s liberal government, is widely regarded as the best example of the conflict between liberalism and Catholicism.

among the working class, who most strongly felt the lingering effects of the 1873 economic depression and Jewish fiscal competition.

Conservative Catholic ideology prevailed among members of the lower clergy, who became “the first professional group to join the antisemitic movement after 1886.”⁵⁷ Alterations in clerical antisemitic teachings during the late nineteenth century reflect larger societal trends contributing to the development of political antisemitism. Boyer devotes a chapter of *Political Radicalism* to the radical clergy and Catholic politics in Vienna, noting these clergymen offered the antisemitic movement “technical resources and ideological conservatism.”⁵⁸ As consistent with religious antisemitism, clerics initially utilized religious justification to incite working class uprisings against the Jewish population. Pauley attributes this justification to the church’s initial inability to attack Jews on other grounds, writing the Catholic Church “could hardly fault Jews for their cosmopolitanism ... nor could they object to their Austrianism.”⁵⁹ While traditional antisemitic rhetoric resonated among Vienna’s staunchly Catholic community, the lower clergy was considerably more effective in disseminating antisemitism by exploiting societal discontent.

By the late nineteenth century, religious justification for antisemitism became increasingly tied to societal economic and political frustration. Liberal economic policies bred discontent within large segments of Viennese society, propagating the historical view that liberalism was becoming gradually detached from the majority of the population. Discussing religious antisemitic preaching, Boyer argues “perhaps the most singular use to which the clerics put antisemitism ... was to explain the

⁵⁷ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 122.

⁵⁸ Ibid., n. pag.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 38.

devolution of the Austrian state after 1867.”⁶⁰ This statement reflects the church’s traditional dislike for liberal politics, which remained unaffiliated with a religious faith, and the association of liberalism with Jewish society. Lower clergymen, like much of lower class Austrian society, felt increased financial pressure – the result of changing government legislation regarding clerical payments during the 1870s.⁶¹ Such changes provided the foundation for the development of a religiously motivated, oppositional political movement.

The close relationship between the Austrian Catholic Church and Viennese politics is perhaps best demonstrated by the rise of the Christian Social Party, whose name suggests the entwinement of religion and state. Although historians are divided on the extent to which the Christian Social Party embraced religious ideals, Boyer nonetheless indicates a situation where antisemitism diffused from the church and infiltrated the city’s political system.⁶² Arthur May’s *Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (1966) notes Christian Socialism’s traditional ideological background, claiming it was “staunchly devoted to the house of Hapsburg” and “identified with Roman Catholicism and the interests of clerical traditionalism,”⁶³ The party, led by

⁶⁰ Ibid., 156.

⁶¹ Ibid., 143. Boyer devotes a subsection of the chapter ‘Catholic Politics in Vienna’ to the effect of changes to The Congrua, or the “legal minimum salary guaranteed [to] the Austrian clergy by the government” (Boyer, 59). This wage was expected to provide a basic financial support to lower clergy members. A reform of Congrua legislation in the late nineteenth century, which decreased the sum paid to clergymen, placed additional financial strain on the lower clergy. This situation mirrors the financial decline of Viennese artisans, also discussed by Boyer. For additional information on the Congrua, see: J. Boyer, “Catholic Priests in Lower Austria: Anti-Liberalism, Occupational Anxiety, and Radical Political Action in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 118 (1974): 337-369.

⁶² Although the Christian Social Party was founded with the purpose “to carry out the task of Catholic renewal,” historiographical literature suggests its members did not completely embrace the party’s religious component (Schorske, 143).

⁶³ May, *Vienna In the Age of Franz Joseph*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 88.

Viennese Mayor Karl Lueger, exploited societal dissatisfaction with the liberal regime and utilized its association with the Catholic Church to gain political power.⁶⁴

Economic Antisemitism: The Catalyst for Viennese Political Antisemitism

Although institutional changes and the emergence of conservative Catholic politics provided the necessary foundations for the development of political antisemitism, economic hardship coupled with traditional anxiety of Jewish fiscal competition comprise the most influential factors leading to political antisemitism. Pulzer describes the significance of Viennese economic antisemitism, noting, “of all the aspects of the post-1867 order, it was economic liberalism that placed the heaviest immediate burden on the population.”⁶⁵ This opinion is echoed in the works of other historians, including Boyer, who argues, “without their [Christian Social] massive repudiation of economic Liberalism and its advocates, the Christian Socials would never have established themselves as an alternative to Liberal conceptions of the *Bürgertum*.”⁶⁶ Thus, economic discontent was necessary to mobilize large factions of Viennese society, most significantly the city’s lower classes, to facilitate the rise of the Christian Social Party.

This section expands upon Pulzer’s brief chapter, investigating the factors

⁶⁴ For additional information on Dr. Karl Lueger, see: R. Geehr, *Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin De Siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1990); J. Boyer, “Karl Lueger and the Viennese Jews,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (1981); R. Wistrich, “Karl Lueger and the Ambiguities of Viennese Antisemitism,” *Jewish Social Studies* (1983). Also, for Karl Lueger’s translated speeches, including those referencing antisemitism, see R. Geeher, “*I decide who is a Jew!*”: *The Papers of Dr. Karl Lueger* (University Press of America 1982).

⁶⁵ Pulzer, *Rise of Political Antisemitism*, 138.

⁶⁶ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 41. Boyer utilizes the term *Bürgertum* to refer to Vienna’s bourgeois, or middle class.

behind economic antisemitism; namely, the association of capitalist economics with Jewish society, the effect of economic hardship following the 1873 stock market crash, the decline of Viennese artisans, fears of fiscal competition, and traditional allegations of Judaic fraud and laziness. Although notions of economic antisemitism existed for centuries among the German population, its manifestation in the politics of the Christian Social Party and ability to mobilize Viennese society against Jews made the economically driven antisemitic discontent of the late 1880s more wide-reaching in the rise of political antisemitism.

The liberal regime's adoption of capitalist, free market economics generated considerable societal and economic changes. The transition to a capitalist economic system generated financial hardship within Vienna's rapidly expanding industrial, or proletariat, class, whose outlet for frustration became the city's perceived wealthy liberal and Jewish populations.⁶⁷ While Viennese Jews were certainly active in business and finance, Rosensaft cautions the overemphasis on Jewish economic influence, noting "the role played by Jews in Austrian economic life has often been exaggerated."⁶⁸ Schorske perhaps best summarizes the relationship between capitalist economics and Jewish society, describing, "the ideology of peasant and artisan, for whom liberalism meant capitalism and capitalism meant Jew."⁶⁹ Economic trouble during the late nineteenth century furthered popular discontent with capitalism and Jewish society, which led to political antisemitism.

The 1873 Austrian stock market crash and ensuing depression heightened

⁶⁷ For a complete study of the effects of capitalism on European Jewry, see: J. Muller, *Capitalism and The Jews* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶⁸ Rosensaft, 'Jews and Antisemites in Austria at the End of the Nineteenth Century,' 57.

⁶⁹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 117-118.

public distaste for liberal politics and Viennese Jewry. The economic crash, incited by rapid German industrialization and lax fiscal regulations, primarily harmed local artisans and small investors.⁷⁰ The Panic of 1873 brought Europe and North America into a period of economic depression, which stagnated production and global markets. In the misery following the crash, Robertson notes, “simple explanations, scapegoats [the Jews] were welcome.”⁷¹ Although slander against Jewish involvement in economics was common during the depression, the primary backlash for the crash occurred within the Viennese political, rather than societal, spheres.

By the late nineteenth century, Viennese artisans had experienced a significant financial decline. In his analysis, Boyer suggests the decline of Viennese artisans provided the initial foundations for the rise in political antisemitism. The effects the 1873 depression and European industrialization impacted the artisan workforce, leading to decreased production demand, and, therefore, decreased annual income. Boyer notes food price inflation during the 1880s resulted in “the first stages of political antisemitism in Vienna.”⁷² Although not economically poor, an increase in the cost of living combined with a decrease in production quotas placed additional financial stress on the artisan population. Therefore, to combat economic stressors, the artisan movement adopted political antisemitism, forming organizations such as “the antisemitic City Council delegation,” and “antisemitic political clubs.”⁷³ Working within the political structure, these organizations lobbied in favor of guild and industry protection. The financial decline of the artisan workforce mandated the use of new

⁷⁰ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Destruction*, 281.

⁷¹ Robertson qtd. in Kravitt. Mahler, Victim of the New Antisemitism, *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 127 (2002).

⁷² Boyer, ‘*Political Radicalism*’ 70.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

political tactics, like antisemitism, to ensure their economic survival.

In an economically struggling society, Jewish shop owners, craftsmen, and professionals provided unwanted fiscal challenges. However, as Boyer notes, economic and social interaction initially tied the populations of Vienna “together in a thousand informal ways.”⁷⁴ Under the capitalist system, economic competition fostered financial development, providing artisan industries with opportunities for growth and expansion. With increased economic challenges and the admission of Jews into the public service, “antisemitism found enormous support among thousands of Gentile employees, who competed with their Jewish colleagues for appointments, promotions, salary raises, and positions in institutions.”⁷⁵ Although few private businesses banned Jews from its advisory and executive boards, a notion of antisemitism permeated throughout working-class Viennese society.

Traditional allegations of Judaic fraud and laziness often constituted the working class’ justification for economic antisemitism. Crime statistics from imperial Vienna indicate, “Jews generally suffered a higher rate of convictions for misdemeanors in financial affairs.”⁷⁶ The relative prosperity of the Jews compared to the German working class prompted Robert Pattai, a lawyer, to link Jewish economic success to the fabled ‘Jewish question.’

If we now see that today the Jews have, under the rule of their theories, risen to almost a hegemony in the economic sphere, then from this loftier point of view the Jewish question appears as but a symptom of general economic disease. Should it not be possible to cut the root of the Jewish question through these necessary reforms, then the discriminatory laws, ... demanded from so many

⁷⁴ Ibid., 75.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 84.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 82.

sides, will become necessary.”⁷⁷

Although such speeches attempt to justify political antisemitism, they reveal the Viennese population’s inherent jealousy of Jewish economic success. However, such actions ultimately represent a poor attempt to justify an increasingly hostile antisemitic attitude that would culminate following the First World War.

The Christian Social Party also exploited economic antisemitism, which was diffused to the population by the press and lower clergy, to gain political advantage. Although Karl Lueger may not have completely embraced antisemitic ideology, he nonetheless recognized the importance of its economic class basis.⁷⁸ Richard S. Levy provides a summary of Christian Social political goals, noting, “its general objective was to adapt modern economic and technological innovations to premodern corporate society.”⁷⁹ Thus, the antiquated but modern aspects of politics in late imperial Vienna become increasingly apparent. May also confirms the economic undertones of the Christian Social agenda, writing, “equating big business with Jewry, Christian Socialism wished to check the penetration of Jews into banking and industry.”⁸⁰ Although often members of the bourgeoisie, Christian Socials propagated an image of saving the average industrial worker from a society economically dominated by Jewish liberals. The Christian Social Party was especially adept at using economic antisemitism to mobilize the lower class to their cause, as opposed to other anti-capitalist ideologies circulating at the time.

⁷⁷ Pulzer, *Rise of Political Antisemitism*, 140. The Jewish question referred to a broad, European societal debate over the role that the Jew should play, if any, in society and politics.

⁷⁸ Wistrich, *Lueger and Antisemitism*, 259.

⁷⁹ Levy, Richard S. and Lindemann, Albert.S, *Antisemitism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸⁰ May, *Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph*, 89.

Unlike the preceding intellectual and political factors, economic antisemitism mobilized Viennese industrial workers and white-collar businessmen, who comprised a significant percentage of the city's population.⁸¹ According to a 1900 census, there were 140,655 independent businessmen and 430,865 full-time workers in Vienna, comprising one fourth of the population of two million.⁸² Besides providing justification for antisemitic uprising, the mobilization of the working class, which now constituted a significant vote in politics, provided a large, supportive basis for political antisemitism's popular advancement. While capitalism and liberalism were certainly supported by more than just Jewish society, they nevertheless became popularly associated within political pamphlets and publications as a Jewish phenomenon. Therefore, by the end of the nineteenth-century, the Jewish population was viewed not only as culturally and religiously separate from German society, but also economically different.

At Society's Fringe: Racial Antisemitism and Pan-German Nationalism

Political antisemitism was marginally tied into overarching notions of racial antisemitism and pan-German nationalism, which were slowly infiltrating Viennese politics and society. Although Boyer argues, "racialism as the most extreme form of antisemitism was rarely to be found in [fin-de-siècle] Vienna," the prevalence and popularity of the conservative Viennese press suggests a far greater influence of racist

⁸¹ The term economic antisemitism appears in Peter Pulzer's *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*. For additional information on this term, see: P. Pulzer, *The Rise of Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Lazare, Bernard, *Antisemitism, Its History and Causes* (New York: The International Library Publishing Co., 1903).

⁸² Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 68.

ideology.⁸³ Racial antisemitism, as described by George L. Mosse, contended that Jews were biologically different from the German, or Aryan, population. The perception of Jews as a separate and inferior race factored into growing pan-German national movements, which sought to unite Austria with culturally and racially similar Germany. This section briefly explores both of these factors as they relate to the rise of Viennese political antisemitism.⁸⁴ While racial antisemitism and Pan-Germanism were not indicative of mainstream thought, their presence nonetheless provided a justification for those seeking to exclude Jews from society.

The earliest signs of Viennese racial antisemitism appear in instances of intellectual discrimination, which asserted that Jewish cultural products were not aesthetically comparable to German works. Investigations into Gustav Mahler's tenure as director of the Viennese Opera, most significantly K.M. Knittle's comprehensive article, "'Ein hypermoderner Dirigent': Mahler and Antisemitism in Fin-de-siècle Vienna," demonstrate the infiltration of racial ideology into artistic criticism. Knittle argues that critiques of Mahler's directing style indicate underlying ethnic tension, citing one particularly apt description taken from an article published by Viennese music critic Max Graf:

When the house grew dark, the small man with the sharply chiseled features, pale and ascetic-looking rushed to the conductor's desk. His conducting was striking enough in his first years of activity in Vienna. He would let his baton shoot forward suddenly, like the tongue of a poisonous serpent. With his right hand, he seemed to pull the music out of the orchestra as out of the bottom of a chest of drawers. He would let his stinging glance loose upon a musician who was seated far away from him, and the man would quail. Giving a cue, he would look in one direction, at the same time pointing his baton in another...I can remember how disturbed he was, when he had Gutheil-Schoder sing the

⁸³ Ibid. 78.

⁸⁴ An in-depth exploration of racial theory and its impact on European racial antisemitism will be provided in the following section.

Eva in Meistersinger, and read the unfavourable criticisms about her. He sat sunken down behind the mountain of newspapers, like a wicked dwarf, and nervously chewed his finger-nails...⁸⁵

Knittle argues this description, particularly the portrayal of Mahler as “the small man with sharply chiseled features” and “a wicked dwarf,” evokes traditional Jewish stereotypes. Indeed, the short Jewish physical stature was of interest to racial theorists, who argued a small build was indicative of racial inferiority. Therefore, this prevailing opinion within the Viennese artistic community ties into overarching notions of racial antisemitism.

Although history acknowledges Karl Lueger as a precursor and influence for Hitler’s racial antisemitism, Viennese politician Georg von Schönerer’s public classification of Jews on a racial basis, proposed political legislation to exclude Jews from society, and fervent promotion of pan-German nationalism are perhaps more akin to policies of the later German National Socialist movement.⁸⁶ In fact, Howard M. Sachar argues that Schönerer was “the preeminent European visionary of political racism.”⁸⁷ Schönerer’s political position within the Reichsrat (he was elected as a left-wing liberal in 1867) allowed him to become the first person to articulate racial antisemitic views on a national scale.

⁸⁵ Knittle, K. N., *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 269.

⁸⁶ Hitler himself acknowledges Karl Lueger as a significant influence, writing in *Mein Kampf*, “I slowly came to know from these causes about the man and the movement which determined Vienna’s destiny at that time: Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Social Party” (PAGE). Yet, Lueger’s antisemitism, as demonstrated by John Boyer was based more on political opportunity than it was on racial hatred. Lindemann supports the viewpoint that Schönerer was a more significant influence, claiming “if one is to speak of proto-Nazis at this time, von Schönerer is a far more tenable example” (Lindemann, 204). For additional information on Hitler’s early influences in fin-de-siècle Vienna see: B. Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna: A Dictator’s Apprenticeship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Lindemann, Albert S., *Esau’s Tears: Modern Antisemitism and the Rise of the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁸⁷ Sachar, Howard M., *A History of the Jews in the Modern World*.

Like Lueger, Schönerer condemned Viennese Jews through mass speeches. Richard Evans recalls Schönerer's political slogans, which included the racial antisemitic statement "religion's all the same, its race that is to blame."⁸⁸ Although Albert Lindemanan recognizes Schönerer's racism was not indicative of the viewpoint of Austrian society he nonetheless notes, "his hate-filled paranoia was more extreme, more deeply rooted. Indeed, his dead seriousness in matters having to do with race put him in a more problematic relationship with what might be termed a more authentic Austrian character."⁸⁹ Such radicalism would inhibit Schönerer's later political advancement and ability to amass a significant following; however, it did not prevent him from taking initial action to attempt to politically and socially exclude Jewish society.

Notions of racial antisemitism were associated with growing nationalistic movements, which viewed Jews as members of another nationality and therefore unsuitable for incorporation into a pan-German state. However, liberal nationalist factions initially drew Jewish supporters. Nationality was a difficult question for Austrian society, which found itself politically removed from Germany and caught in the politics of the Dual Monarchy, the result of the 1867 *Ausgleich* with Hungary.⁹⁰ This question was perhaps more difficult for the Jewish population that considered

⁸⁸ Evans, Richard, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 44.

⁸⁹ Lindemann, Albert S., *Esau's Tears: Modern Antisemitism and the Rise of the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 204.

⁹⁰ Austria was removed from the German Federation following its defeat in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. For additional information on the development of Austrian and Central European nationalism see: P. Judson, ed., *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

itself a part of Viennese, and German, society.⁹¹ Steven Beller provides a convincing argument regarding the Jewish alignment with pan-German nationalism in the 1870s, writing, “by joining the counter-culture of the radical German Nationalists, Jews were also assimilating into a culture: their very rejection of their Jewish fathers should prove their credentials, that they had ceased to be Jews and had become a part of the great German *Volk*.”⁹² Yet, as pan-German nationalism became increasingly united among racial lines, Viennese Jews realized they would not be accepted into a German state and thus supported the perpetuation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In addition to supporting racial antisemitism, Schönerer advocated for pan-German nationalism, becoming the first to unite the concepts of antisemitism, racism, and nationalism. Schönerer’s actions often targeted intellectual and economic activities to foster antisemitic movements.⁹³ He was particularly apt at diffusing his ideology among Vienna’s lower classes – peasants, artisans, and industrial workers – and university students. However, Schönerer’s nationalistic aspirations, developed in 1882 under the Linz Program, ultimately failed due to its increasingly antisemitic policies. The Linz Program contained additional radical antisemitic aspects, including a point calling for “the removal of Jewish influence from all sections of public life.”⁹⁴ The failure of the program suggests that despite the increasing prevalence of antisemitism in public life, Viennese society was unwilling to condemn the complete

⁹¹ For additional information regarding the Jewish national identity question, see Marsha L. Rozenblit’s comprehensive studies: *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (1984); *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria During World War I* (Oxford: Oxford, University Press 2001).

⁹² Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 158. As Beller notes, during the 1870s-1880s, racial antisemitism had not become a central ideology of the German nationalist movement.

⁹³ Wistrich, Robert S., “Socialism and Antisemitism in Austria before 1914,” *Jewish Social Studies* 37 (1975): 323.

⁹⁴ Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*, 147.

removal of Jewish society. Nevertheless, the combination of nationalistic and racial antisemitism, two fringe movements, mobilized a small, but significant factor of Vienna's population.

Classifying Hatred: The Rise of European Racial Theory

By the mid nineteenth-century, the concept of racial theory had diffused from scientific circles to the general public, where antisemites justified political exclusion of Jewish society on a racial basis. Enlightenment thought propagated the belief in the equality of all peoples, a notion that deeply troubled certain elements of European society. Racial theory, as George L. Mosse notes, is entrenched in societal memory in relationship to the extermination of almost six million Jews during the Holocaust. Yet, concepts of race and racism, paradoxically, emerged from the ideals of the Enlightenment and religious fervor of the eighteenth century.⁹⁵ Racism, like antisemitism, originated from the religious belief that all humanity was descended from Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Yet, as this section demonstrates, racist thought evolved along a scientific basis into a theory that would alter European history.

Drawing from modern historiography and prominent racial theorists, this section defines and explores the evolution of European racial theory, beginning with its theological origins to its manifestations in pseudo-scientific thought. While the

⁹⁵ Mosse, George L., *Towards the Final Solution* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 1. For a complete history concerning the origins of European racism, see Mosse, "Chapter One: Eighteenth-Century Foundations," 1-16.

sheer number of European racial theorists makes it difficult to comment on the nuances of each theory, an emphasis will be given to broader racial themes. Most important to Viennese Jewry was the growing belief that Jews were racially different from the German population and therefore unsuitable for incorporation into Viennese politics or a pan-German state. The rise of “scientific” racism, present in the works of Da Lapouge and Galton, provided perceived quantitative information for this belief. Particular attention will be given to the application of racial theory to European Jewry and the emerging nineteenth century conflict between Jewish society and Aryan Germans.

The Development of Race and Racism in the European Mentality

The concept of race, as referred to in this paper, is defined as “population groups which are imagined to have boundaries based on real or imagined biological characteristics.”⁹⁶ Such biological traits are often regarded as physical characteristics, including eye, hair, and skin color. Race differs from ethnicity, which refers to population groups with similar cultural or national characteristics. As Mosse notes, race itself is a somewhat mystical concept, emerging from Euro-centric and subjective beliefs in the concept of beauty and intellect. With such thought, it was inevitable that racism would “create myths which [it] subsequently attempted to bring into existence.”⁹⁷ These myths degraded populations viewed as inferior, ugly, and dissimilar from the defined European ideal and became the leading justification for

⁹⁶ Dikotter, Frank, “Nationalist Myth-making: The Construction of the Chinese Race,” *China Rights Forum* 12 (2001): 4-9.

⁹⁷ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, xxvii.

political and societal exclusion during the twentieth century.

Before exploring the development of racial theory, it is necessary to first examine the evolution of the concept of race and racism in the European mentality. Michael Banton notes, “the word ‘race’ entered the English language in 1508 in the poem *The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Sins* by the Scotsman, William Dubard.”⁹⁸ The earliest references to race categorize it in relationship to European society’s Biblical origins in the Garden of Eden, with differences between populations ascribed to separate theological origins. Commonly referred to as polygenists, these racial theorists believed white races were descended from Adam while black races “were created by events separate from the biblical story of creation” (Mosse 33). Such beliefs viewed blacks as inherently inferior to whites on a religious, as opposed to biological basis.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the rise of modern biology and anthropology had transformed racial theory from an evaluation on a theological basis to an anthropological and scientific study of assumed biological characteristics. This transformation in racial theory unsurprisingly coincided with the diffusion of Enlightenment ideals, expanding Jewish influence in European society, and the growth of overseas colonies in Africa and Asia. As Mosse notes, the “mainstream of racism” can be traced to “the fusion of anthropology, eugenics, and social thought.”⁹⁹ Racial theory emerged from the works of physical anthropologists to adopt a scientific background, rooted in the “racist preoccupation with heredity and eugenics,” that

⁹⁸ Banton, Michael, *Racial Theories* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1998) 17. The reference to race in William Dubard’s the “Sevin Deadly Sins” reads as following: “and flatteris in to menis facis;/ And bakbyttaris of sindry racis,/ To ley that had delyte” (17). Dunbar utilizes the term to describe followers of the sin Envy.

⁹⁹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 77.

would ultimately justify non-European exclusion from society.¹⁰⁰

Early racial theorists classified races based on skin color, dividing the world into the “yellow, black, and white races.”¹⁰¹ As consistent with Western ideals, the white races “embodied the virtues of the nobility” while the yellow and black races “lacked imagination” and had “little intelligence.”¹⁰² Yet these theorists encountered difficulty assigning European Jewry, viewed as neither of white nor black, to a specific racial category. This division of races and apparent uniqueness of European Jews is evident in Viennese political cartoons (discussed in the following chapter), which indicate the inferior position of Jewish society.

The first major work to introduce racial inequality and biological differences is Comte Arthur de Gobineau’s *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (1855). Gobineau, a French aristocrat and physical anthropologist, is most commonly credited with developing the “Aryan myth,” or belief in the superiority of European society.¹⁰³ Mosse describes Gobineau’s importance as “making race the key to world history,”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰¹ Swiss naturalist Charles von Linne, often regarded as the founder of modern physical anthropology, is credited with the initial division of global populations into groups based on skin color. Linne divided mankind into four races, the “*Europaeus albus*” (white European), “*Americanus rubescens*” (red American), “*Asiaticus fuscus*” (brown Asian), and “*Africanus niger*” (black African). His study was eventually amended to reclassify the “brown Asian” as “yellow Asian.” Due to the geographic scope of this thesis, the analysis within only studies the supposed European, African, and Asian races.

¹⁰² Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 53.

¹⁰³ Leon Poliakov introduced the concept of the Aryan Myth in the book, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1971). The myth is rooted in the idea of German superiority, which Poliakov argues is attributed to the rise of the Germanic language over Latin and the role of Germanic peoples during the Reformation. Such events suggest the Germanic population as a driving force of modern European history. For additional information on the Aryan myth, see: L. Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: The History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1971).

arguing the fate of civilizations was ultimately entwined with the concept of race.¹⁰⁴

In his work, Gobineau condemns the civilizational failings of the black and yellow races (referred to as collapsed empires in the Americas, Greece, Africa, and Asia). The condemnation of civilizational collapse, as Reuter writes, “seemed to justify the dominant races of Europe in extending their control over other peoples,” a notion that would appear in the late nineteenth century with the rise of New Imperialism.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, Gobineau argued the supremacy of the white race over the yellow and black races, providing evidence that would be extrapolated to Jewish society.

The historical belief in the supremacy of the white race found scientific basis in the works of Francis Galton and Georges Vacher da Lapouge, whose publications contributed to the development of scientific, or biological racism. Scientific racism, or the study of biological differences between populations, became a leading justification for racial-based political platforms and policies. Although Da Lapouge applied his findings to the Jewish population, both da Lapouge and Galton integrated mathematical concepts into their findings. Galton, an English scientist and mathematician, introduced the study of eugenics to European society through the publication of *Hereditary Genius* (1869). Initially, eugenicists analyzed biological variations between populations, recording both external and internal physical traits. The heredity of skin color and facial structure along genetic lines was of particular interest to eugenicists like Galton, who theorized the passage of such traits was

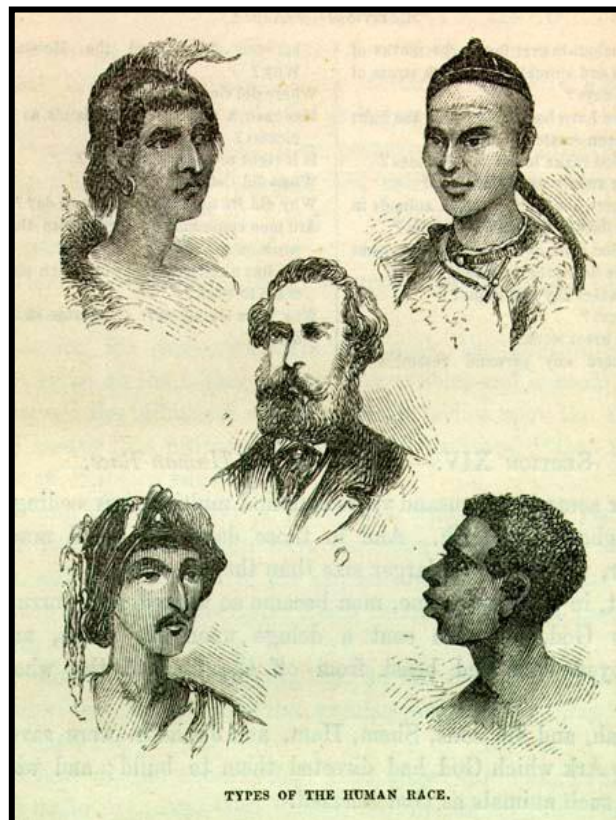
¹⁰⁴ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 53.

¹⁰⁵ Reuter, E.B. “Racial Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 50 (1945): 453.

indicative of race's heritability.¹⁰⁶ Thus, global populations were designated specific physical and biological characteristics (see Figure One).

Perhaps most disturbing in the development of scientific racism was the emergence of phrenology (also referred to as craniotomy), a pseudo-science that influenced societal perception of non-European for centuries. German physician Franz

Figure One: Nineteenth-Century Visualization of Differences Between Races¹⁰⁷



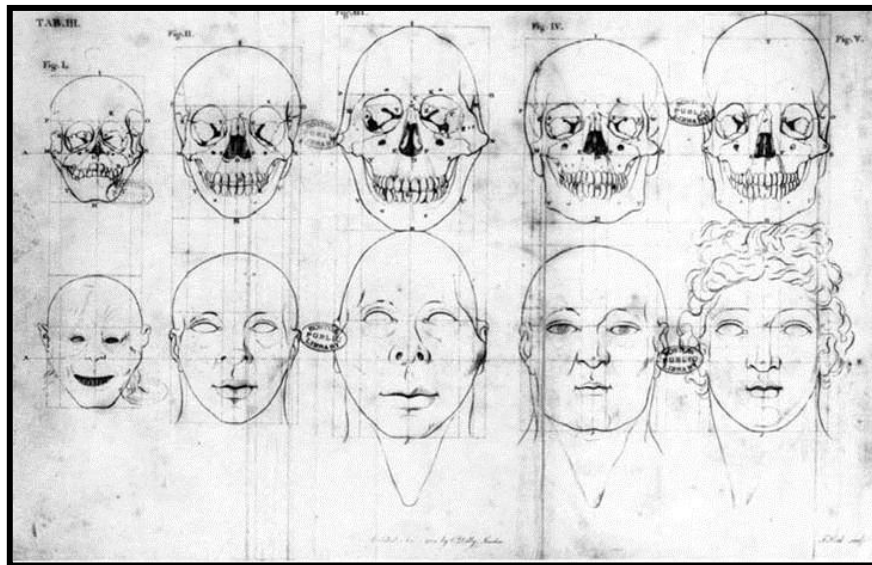
A nineteenth century drawing indicating supposed facial differences between global populations. Phrenology, or the elongation of the skull, is evident in the depiction of the African (bottom right).

¹⁰⁶ The view that race was a heritable condition contributed to racial theorist's conclusion that one's race was determinative of their societal advancement.

¹⁰⁷ Knox, Robert, *The Races of Men* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1850).

Joseph Gall introduced phrenology, or the evaluation of one's mental faculties and character on the basis of skull size and shape, to the scientific community in 1796.¹⁰⁸ Such studies led German scientist Eugen Fish to claim in 1931, that “no part of the human body has been more exhaustively studied by anthropologists than the skull.”¹⁰⁹ Studies such as Robert Knox's *The Races of Men* (1850), which compared human and primate skulls, were translated and widely published in Germany.

Figure Two: Eighteenth-Century Visualization of the Progression of the Human Skull¹¹⁰



An example of eighteenth century phrenology, or study of cranial features. The image depicts the evolution of the human face from its origin in primates to the ideal Greek (or Aryan) features.

¹⁰⁸ Gall did not intend his field of study to become a scientific basis for racism and instead chose to focus on individual, rather than population characteristics. In fact, Gall adamantly rejected the concept of “national skulls” and “refused to classify races of men” (Mosse 27). He additionally rejected the ideas of his contemporaries that “the Negroid skull was particularly narrow and thus contained less brain than that of the white European” (Mosse 27).

¹⁰⁹ Fischer, *Human Heredity: Section II - Racial Differences in Mankind* (Unwin Brothers Ltd. 1931), 114.

¹¹⁰ Camper, Peter, *Dissertation sur les Varietes Naturelles ...* (Paris and The Hauge, 1791), plate V.

Racism and phrenology inevitably became intertwined, with scientists arguing “the more benevolent skulls were found among Englishmen or Frenchmen, while Africa and her inhabitants exhibited moral and intellectual through their skull formations.”¹¹¹ Undesirable facial characteristics were contrasted against the Greek ideal, creating the notion that certain populations were closer to a primitive human state. Pamphlets exhibiting supposed cranial differences were distributed to middle class European populations, thus popularizing racial assumptions (see Figure Two). Phrenology’s societal impact is evident in Viennese political cartoons, which portray Africans, Asians, and Jews with elongated cranial regions. While such studies were utilized to justify nationalistic discrimination, they were nothing more than an observance of external physical traits.

The Emerging Racial Conflict: Aryans and Jews in Europe at the Fin-de-Siècle

The application of racial science, much to the detriment of European Jewry, disseminated the belief that all peoples not of European descent were inherently inferior. Racial scientists compared Jewish and German populations, noting their physical differences. Yet, over time, the European Jew evolved in the mentality of racial “scientists” from an object for comparison to an object for degradation. Racial theorists contrasted the Jew against the European ideal – the Aryan – whose place in the mystical German *Volk* appeared throughout pan-German nationalist propaganda. Growing nationalist movements evoked the traditional perception of the “wandering

¹¹¹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 29-31.

Jew,” a homeless entity whose place in Europe was purely for colonization. Thus, European and Viennese Jewry were ultimately identified as the supposed “enemy” of the European peoples.

The concept of the Jew as physically dissimilar from the European population appeared as early as the thirteenth century.¹¹² Nearly all-major nineteenth-century racial theorists recognized the physical dissimilarities between the Jewish and European populations, seeking to explain both these traits and the Jewish historical presence among European society. Gobineau’s multi-volume work, *An Essay on the Inequalities of Human Race*, noted the inferiorities of the Jewish body, writing, “the German Jews are usually much smaller and more slender in build than the men of European race.”¹¹³ This visualization, when compared to that of the classic Aryan German – broad shouldered and of considerable height (see Figure Four) – contributed to the societal perception of Jews as physically inferior. Although European Jewry factored into Gobineau’s essay, they were primarily utilized as evidence within his larger essay explaining civilizational collapse.

While some racial theorists, like Gobineau, were concerned with the differences across global populations, others exclusively studied the Jewish population. Robert Virchow’s *Schulstatistik* conducted a study of German and Jewish school children, finding 32 percent of German school children to be blonde and 42 percent of Jews to be brunet.¹¹⁴ Studies such as Virchow occurred across the continent,

¹¹² Hoedl, Klaus, “Physical Characteristics of the Jews,” *Jewish Studies*.

¹¹³ Gobineau, *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1915), 123. French version: Gobineau, *Essai Sur L’Inégalité des Races Humaines*, (Paris: Libraire de Firmin Didot Frères, 1853).

¹¹⁴ Virchow qtd. in Zimmerman, Andrew, “Antisemitism as Skill: Rudolf Virchow’s ‘Schulstatistik’ and the Racial Composition of Germany,” *Central European History* 4

citing Jewish facial features, particularly the nose, to be a distinguishing feature of the Jewish race. Like Virchow's studies, these theorists were concerned with the application of scientific knowledge to the study of the human races. Describing the Jewish nose, Bernhard Blechmann "claimed that Jews had very big nose bones resulting from specific muscles."¹¹⁵ This supposed scientific assignment of racial-based characteristics was largely based on observed stereotypes, but had a significant effect on both German societies' perception of the Jew and Jewish society's perception of themselves. Mosse relates this statement to Jewish society, noting, "however rationalized, the survey [Virchow's *Schulstatistic*], must have made Jewish children conscious of their minority status and their supposedly different origins."¹¹⁶

With the advent of universal suffrage and religious toleration, antisemites utilized racial science to justify Jewish exclusion from society and the nation. Racial biologists classified Jews, based on their physical appearance and historical origins in the Middle East, as members of a separate race of non-European origin. Consequently, by the turn of the century, pan-German nationalism and racism had become inherently linked, with the push for national unity among racial lines leading to the political exclusion of all who did not meet German racial standards. Jewish society's historical association as an outsider to European society, with no designated territory,

(1999). The blonde hair and blue eyes defining the Aryan race originated from Carus' notion that racial features were indicative of a population's physical environment. As Mosse notes, the Aryan "blond coloring derived from the sun was superiority, together with blue eyes which reflected the sky" (Mosse 28). The notion of a blond hair, blue-eyed Jew was particularly troubling to racial biologists. Gobineau comments on this phenomenon, noting, "this fairness, in certain Jews, is due to a mixture of Tartar blood; in the 9th century a tribe of Chasars went over to Judaism and intermarried with the German-Polish Jews."

¹¹⁵ Blechmann qtd. in Hoedl, "Physical Characteristics of the Jews." For a complete discussion on Blechmann's 1882 medical dissertation discussing the anatomy of the Jewish nose, see: B. Blechmann, *Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Juden* (gedr. med. Diss. Dorpat, 1882), 11.

¹¹⁶ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 91.

contributed to the increasingly hostile belief that the Jew's only agenda in Europe was colonization.

The Jew had historically been regarded by minority elements, including conservative clergy, of European society as an outsider, a person of non-European origin. Mosse comments on this perception, writing, "the legend of the wandering Jew reinforced the view of the Jew as the eternal foreigner."¹¹⁷ However, nineteenth-century Viennese Jews often considered themselves as members of Viennese and European society. This belief holds true for the majority of European Jewry; Mosse writes, "most Jews who were highly assimilated in central or western Europe regarded themselves as full members of the nations ... not as a separate people but rather as one of the tribes, ... which made up the larger nation."¹¹⁸ Yet, racial theorists ultimately argued that the Jew was not a member of emerging European nation-states, citing supposed biological and historical evidence.

The mystical concept of the German *Volk* contributed to the idea that Jews were not suitable for incorporation into a pan-German state.¹¹⁹ The *Volk* was exclusively composed of members of the Aryan race, defined by their mystical relationship to "most perfect" of peoples and languages – the Greek – and by their

¹¹⁷Ibid., 115. The legend of the wandering Jew was a popular medieval tale that involved a mysterious Jewish cursed to eternally wander the globe.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 122.

¹¹⁹The term *Volk* refers to the belief in a mystical unifying force among Germanic peoples. Mosse writes this idea was "based on a common racial identity," which "was symbolized by the nature in which it lived" (Mosse 97). Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt as Educator* (Rembrandt als Erzieher) is regarded as the definitive work on the relationship between the *Volk*, race, and nature, advocating the romantic ideal that "every race had its landscape" (Mosse 97). While Aryans originated in the German forest – a lush environment, symbolizing mental richness – Jews were associated with the desert, a symbol of supposed "the barrenness of their souls" (Mosse 97). However, the *Volk* also incorporated elements of racial biology, with the superiority its members attributed to physical stereotypes.

biological origins as the supposed masters of the Indo-European race.¹²⁰ In Austria, ethnic Germans perceived themselves as racially similar to those in neighboring Germany and therefore identified themselves as members of the *Volk*. Pan-German

Figure Three: Nazi Racial Propaganda¹²¹



A representation of the “pure Aryan” family taken from the cover of a 1938 calendar published by *Neues Volk*, the magazine of the Nazi Party’s Race Political Office. The image exemplifies nineteenth century racial theorist’s perception of the desired – and superior – physical characteristics of the German population, which included strength (demonstrated by the male’s broad shoulders) and racial purity (demonstrated by blonde hair).

¹²⁰ Ibid., 38. While the term “Aryan” is utilized in relationship to the German *Volk*, Mosse suggests the term “Caucasian” constitutes a more accurate biological definition of European races. Frederick Bluembach deemed European peoples to be “Caucasian,” based on the belief that “the slopes of the Caucasus were the original home of the most beautiful European species” (Mosse 44).

¹²¹ Retrieved from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives.

nationalists, as noted in the previous section, sought to unify the *Volk* through the creation of *Großdeutschland*, a nation-state of Germanic peoples. This concept excluded Jewish populations, who despite speaking the Germanic language were not considered ethnic Germans.

The notion of the Jewish population, who as Wilhelm Marr notes, “had no homeland,” troubled racial theorists and antisemites, who argued Jews should be viewed as colonizers and a threat to the preservation of European racial purity.¹²² Although Gobineau recognized the Jewish ancestral homeland of Palestine, he nonetheless indicates their ability to linguistically assimilate into the native culture, writing, “the Jews used the tongue of the country where they settled.”¹²³ These views were diffused to European society through French theorist Vacher da Lapouge, whose antisemitic writings argued “the Jews presented a kind of grotesque mirror of the imperial powers; they were secret colonizers.”¹²⁴ Thus, the late nineteenth-century Jew was perceived as an enemy, a threat to European society.

“Unworthy of a Great People:” A Brief History of the Viennese Press

Antisemitism diffused throughout imperial Vienna through the circulation of an increasingly radical antisemitic press. Although these newspapers were often designated “gutter rags,” Pauley claims nearly 50,000 copies of “antisemitic and pan-

¹²² Marr, Wilhem, *Victory of Judaism over Germanism*, Gerhard Rohringer, trans. (Bern: Rudolf Constenoble, 1879).

¹²³ Gobineau, *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, 195.

¹²⁴ Cheyette, Bryan and Marcus, Laura, *Modernity, Culture, and “The Jew,”* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 107.

German newspapers” circulated throughout the city in 1900.¹²⁵ Yet these newspapers comprise just a fraction of Vienna’s many publications, whose topics ranged from agriculture, to finance, to culture and politics.¹²⁶ Historiography emphasizes the prominence of Jewish journalists and newspaper owners, commonly referred to in historical literature as the ‘liberal press.’ This section provides a brief overview of the Viennese press, focusing primarily on the radical press, a subject often overlooked in historiographical accounts.¹²⁷

Despite Vienna’s prominence as the cosmopolitan capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, historical literature contains few comprehensive, independent studies of the city’s press.¹²⁸ To date, Wilmont Haacke’s “The Austrian and Viennese Press” is the most comprehensive English-language overview of the city’s papers.¹²⁹ Haacke reviews Kurt Paupie’s *Handbuch der Oesterreichischen Pressegeschichte, 1848-1959*, which notes the separation of Viennese papers into four categories: the first working-

¹²⁵ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 48.

¹²⁶ For a complete listing of Viennese newspapers and circulation numbers at the turn-of-the-century see: *Hubbard’s newspaper and bank directory of the world (with gazetteer and atlas combined). Containing the names and descriptions of over thirty-three thousand newspapers and fifteen thousand banks* (New Haven: Hubbard, 1882).

¹²⁷ Daniel Vyleta confirms this opinion, writing “it might be surprising to read that there has been a relative neglect of the Viennese ‘gutter’ press certainly if compared to London or Berlin” (Vyleta 8). For additional information on the Viennese press, see: D. Vyleta *Crime, Jews, and News: Vienna* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

¹²⁸ The Viennese press is often mentioned in relationship to another European city that is being studied in-depth. The number of studies focusing exclusively on the Viennese press is surprisingly lacking. For examples of papers comparing other European cities to the Viennese press, see: S. Johnson’s, “The new Hep! Hep!: Dreyfus and other Jewish questions – a view from London, 1881-1903,” *Press and Stat* (2009): 151-164, which compares the London press to other European cities.

¹²⁹ Haacke’s article reviews Kurt Paupie’s *Handbuch der Osterreichischen Pressegeschichte, 1848-1959, Vol. I* (Manual of the history of the Austrian Press) and Vol. II: *Die zentralen presspolitischen Einrichtungen des Staates* (The governmental central bodies politic controlling the political Press), which he acknowledges as the most “up-to-date history of the Austrian Press in general and that of the capital, Vienna” (Haacke, 195). For additional information, see: W. Haack, “The Austrian and Viennese Press,” *International Communication Gazette* 14 (1968).

men's papers, the Roman-Catholic, Christian-socialist papers, the Nationalist papers, and the papers published by the Austrian Communist Party.¹³⁰ While antisemitism is diffuse throughout these categories (with the exception of those papers owned and staffed by Jewish journalists), it appears most frequently in what Paupie terms the 'local papers,' which he notes were "rooted in the mentality of the very small middle class readers."¹³¹ These papers propagated antisemitic sentiment through the use of satirical cartoons and rhetoric, viewing themselves as in continual competition with the Jewish-dominated, liberal press.

Given the prominence of Jewish society in Vienna, it is unsurprising that a significant number of Jews were involved in newspaper production at the turn-of-the-century. Describing a visit to the city, German-Jewish author Jakob Wasserman recalled: "I soon recognized that all public life was dominated by Jews. The banks, the press, the theatre, literature, social functions, all was in the hands of Jews."¹³² Vienna's leading liberal papers were often owned by Jewish citizens and staffed by Jewish journalists, such as Theodor Herzl and Arthur Schnitzler.¹³³ Considerable historical research is dedicated to Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse*, which is commonly regarded as the city's leading, liberal newspaper. Although liberal-oriented papers generally reflected Viennese society's majority opinion, the supposed dominance of the "Jewish press" prompted Schönerer to sarcastically claim: "Long live our allies, the corruptible and Judaised Viennese press!"¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Haacke, "The Austrian and Viennese Press," 106.

¹³¹ Ibid., 197.

¹³² Wasserman, J, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1922), 102.

¹³³ Theodor Herzl, regarded as the leader of the Austrian Zionist movement, was particularly influential in the establishment of Jewish-oriented papers.

¹³⁴ Peter G. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*, 147.

Antisemitic cartoon papers, such as *Kikeriki! Wiener Humoristisches Volksblatt* (*Kikeriki! Vienna's Humorous People's Paper*) emerged during the mid to late nineteenth-century, with the intention "to wage a satirical war against the Jews."¹³⁵ These publications were circulated throughout Vienna and surrounding territories primarily on a weekly or biweekly basis (for exact distribution information, see Table One). Founded in 1862, *Kikeriki!* is commonly regarded as Europe's oldest antisemitic comic paper. However, as Allison Rose notes, at the time of its founding, *Kikeriki!*'s editors intended to promote the Catholic anti-clerical, rather than antisemitic movement.¹³⁶ As the century progressed, *Kikeriki!* adopted an increasingly hostile antisemitic platform, with the publication of antisemitic political cartoons vastly outnumbering anti-clerical cartoons by 1900.

Radical Viennese newspapers exploited notions of economic, religious, and political uncertainty within the German population to popularize antisemitic sentiment. For example, building upon notions of economic uncertainty, *The Oesterreichischer Volksfreund* "urged Gentile masters to hide their trade secrets from Jewish apprentices."¹³⁷ The newspaper *Das Vaterland* appealed to traditional Catholic antisemitism, claiming Jews exploited Catholicism's charitable nature.¹³⁸ Similarly, Catholic priests, working as "priest-journalists," contributed to the antisemitic press, speaking "at antisemitic public rallies" and authoring "numerous anti-Jewish

¹³⁵ Uzriely, Erez, "Jew Hatred in Contemporary Norwegian Caricatures," *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs* (2006); Rose, Allison, *Jewish Women in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 145.

¹³⁶ Ibid., n. pag.

¹³⁷ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 90.

¹³⁸ *Das Vaterland*, 28 June 1881.

tracts.”¹³⁹ The presence of these newspapers fostered increased antisemitic dialogue and cultivated a heightened awareness towards Jewish presence in an increasingly nationalistic Austrian state.

The rise in newspaper distribution at the turn-of-the-century ensured antisemitic statements reached large segments of the population. Adolf Hitler and Mark Twain commented on the prevalence of Vienna’s antisemitic newspapers and pamphlets. Hitler initially criticized these newspapers, claiming they were “unworthy of the cultural tradition of a great people.”¹⁴⁰ Mark Twain provided a similar critique in his essay, “Concerning the Jews” (1898), which deemed Jewish persecution by the Viennese radical press “horrible and unjust.”¹⁴¹ Such comments indicate that, despite one’s political views, he or she could not avoid the prevalence of antisemitic newspapers. As the next chapter demonstrates, antisemitic newspapers, such as *Kikeriki!* and *Der Floh*, adopted increasingly aggressive antisemitic rhetoric that sought to ridicule and alienate the city’s Jewish population.

Historians debate the extent to which antisemitism influenced Viennese newspapers, and by extension, German society. Although Boyer claims the radical press was limited to “a subculture of crackpot journalists ... located on the fringes of the power structure,” circulation numbers from the late nineteenth-century and the presence of these newspapers in historical accounts suggests a far greater influence.¹⁴² Although *Kikeriki!* did not initially adopt a staunch antisemitic platform, the rise in antisemitic cartoon publication throughout the century reflects the

¹³⁹ Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution*, 40.

¹⁴⁰ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*.

¹⁴¹ Twain, Mark, “Concerning the Jews,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 96 (1898).

¹⁴² Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 78.

Table One: Satirical/Antisemitic Newspaper Circulation Data, 1882¹⁴³

Name	Genre	Distribution	Circulation
Kikeriki (Cock-Crowing)	Conservative Satirical	Territorial	6800
Die Bombe (The Bombshell)	National Comic	City and Suburbs	4200
Der Floh (The Flea)	Comic Scandal Gossip	City and Austria	8000
Weiner Caricaturen (Vienna Caricatures)	Satirical	City	350

infiltration of antisemitism into Viennese society. These cartoons utilized both political antisemitism and racial theory to attack the Jewish population, as discussed in the following chapter. By the turn-of-the-century, *Kikeriki!* and similar newspapers published antisemitic cartoons on a weekly basis, with these images appearing on both the front and interior pages. Thus, the image of the racially degraded and stereotypical Jew was no longer contained to the pages of racial theorists, but visible to all of Viennese society.

¹⁴³ *Hubbard's newspaper and bank directory of the world (with gazetteer and atlas combined). Containing the names and descriptions of over thirty-three thousand newspapers and fifteen thousand banks* (New Haven: Hubbard, 1882).

“Unlike political pundits who use only words to express their views, political cartoonists often get away with portraying stereotypes and prejudices in their comic drawings without the repercussions often suffered by writers. This action is frequently attributed to the belief that drawings can be interpreted on more levels than written words.”
-An interpretation of political cartoons

Chapter Two: An Evaluation of Viennese Political Cartoons

Introduction and Methodology

At the turn-of-the-century, antisemitic political cartoons appeared on a near-weekly basis in Viennese conservative gossip and satirical papers. Although not representative of mainstream Viennese society, these cartoons nonetheless provide a scathing depiction of the city's Jewish population indicative of the radical conservative's perspective on racial theory and current events. This chapter indicates the formation of a racial hierarchy within Viennese cartoons, arguing such papers presented the city's Jewish society as below other racially degraded populations. On a broad level, these cartoons indicate the reaction to Jewish influence in Viennese society and exhibit instances of religious, economic, and political antisemitism. However, the artistic representation of Viennese Jews, which combines elements of racial theory and traditional stereotypes, depicts the population as subhuman and monstrous when compared to Western society, Africans, and Asians.

Political cartoons provide an excellent medium for the exploration of societal discontent and interpretation of historical events. Writing at the turn-of-the-century, M. H. Spielmann references the benefits of the cartoon as a historical source, noting: “[the cartoon] is not to be considered merely as a comic or satirical on the main occurrence or situation of the week, but as contemporary history for the use and information of future generations.”¹⁴⁴ Spielmann’s statement, as described by Thomas Kemnitz in “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” alludes to the political cartoon’s significance in historical literature.¹⁴⁵ Historical analyses utilize the political cartoon as indicative of racial stereotypes, societal cleavages, and public reaction to events. Kemnitz notes this importance, writing, “the cartoon has much to offer the historian concerned with public opinion and popular attitudes.”¹⁴⁶ However, the analysis of Viennese political cartoons, especially antisemitic political cartoons, in historical literature has been relatively neglected. This paper contributes to modern historiography by investigating the use of the cartoon as a vehicle for racial prejudice and as indicative of Viennese conservative opinion towards historical events.¹⁴⁷

The nineteenth-century political cartoon is significant for its role in diffusing racial prejudice to the population through the use of humor. As Anthony Wohl notes, the cartoon itself “encourages stereotyping and so permits the expression of prejudice,

¹⁴⁴ Spielmann qtd. in Kemnitz, Thomas M., “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1973).

¹⁴⁵ Kemnitz divides political cartoons into two categories: (1) cartoons of opinion, which “are primarily visual means of communicating opinions and attitudes or of ‘summing up’ situations; humor may be present but is not a necessary part” and (2) joke cartoons “which are designed to communicate humor” (Kemnitz, 82).

¹⁴⁶ Kemnitz, *The Cartoon as a Historical Source*, 86.

¹⁴⁷ For a broader study of Jewish depiction in caricature, see: E. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin: Albert Langdon, 1921). Although Fuchs includes images from the turn-of-the-century, including cartoons *Kikeriki*,¹ his study evaluates the European visualization of the Jew from the fifteenth to twenty-first century.

with an easy conscience.”¹⁴⁸ Political cartoonists often utilized the caricature, a form of artistic expression emphasizing the exaggeration of certain features to make a person or racial group easily recognizable.¹⁴⁹ In the *English Caricature, 1620 to the Present* (1984), Richard Godfrey describes the importance of humor in antisemitic political cartoons, writing, “before the Jew could be made a scapegoat in Germany, he had to first be made ridiculous.”¹⁵⁰ Whol additionally recognizes the role of the cartoon as encompassing “more than just an exaggeration of a prominent or easily recognized feature.”¹⁵¹ Thus, antisemitic cartoons, on a broad level, communicated a humorous, but sinister message of societal stereotypes and prejudice against Viennese Jews.

While the cartoon intended to communicate humor, it was also expected to disseminate common misperceptions and prejudices against certain racial or national groups. Exploring the psychology of artistic expression, Ernst Kris argues, “it [the cartoon] destroys natural harmony and balance, and, most important, it both degrades

¹⁴⁸ Whol, Anthony, “Ben JuJu: Representations of Disraeli’s Jewishness in the Victorian Political Cartoon,” *Jewish History* 8 (1996): 90.

¹⁴⁹ An official definition of term “caricature” is provided in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, which defines caricature as “an exaggeration by means of often ludicrous distortion of parts or characteristics.”

¹⁵⁰ Whol stresses the interpretation of antisemitic political cartoons as a form of humor. He provides a particularly apt quote from Lawrence Levine’s review of Mel Watkins, (On the Read Side. Laughing, Lying, and Signifying..., *New York Times* (February 27, 1994), Book Review section: 1) in the *New York Times*, which stresses the psychological effect of the humorous expression of prejudice:

Humor is a fundamental part of our daily lives, and, as Freud and others have observed, we often use it to elude external and internal censors. Humor allows us to discuss virtually everything, no matter how taboo. Subjects like incest, sexual performance, prejudice, class feel, even intense anger toward those on whom we are emotionally or materially dependent, can be expressed openly and freely once they become part of humorous expression.

This statement suggests that the humorous intention of cartoons alleviates societal and artistic guilt for undertaking discriminatory actions. For more on the psychological interpretation of political cartoons, see:

¹⁵¹ Whol, “Ben Juju,” 90.

and unmasks the individual.”¹⁵² Political cartoons in fin-de-siècle Vienna, as well as those published across Europe, sought to reveal the true, hidden Jewish character, both through their physical description as well as the cartoon’s dialogue and setting. A primarily negative picture emerged from this imagery, which utilized traditional physical stereotypes (often interpreted as racial characteristics), contributed to society’s visualization of the Jew as a conniving, evil figure and to the development of systematic racism. The cartoon, for its humorous characters and dialogue, can additionally be interpreted as “a kind of rhetoric” that “prepares the way for action.”¹⁵³ Therefore, Viennese political cartoons cannot be evaluated on a simple, broad level, and must be read for their underlying messages.

The cartoons utilized in this paper are drawn from the extensive online newspaper archives of the *Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek (ONB)*. Due to its prominence in historical literature as an example of a satirical, antisemitic newspaper, political cartoons from *Kikeriki!* feature most heavily in this analysis. *Kikeriki!*’s publication of antisemitic cartoons throughout the nineteenth-century allows for an analysis of trends in the evolution of radical, antisemitic political views. Although the preceding section noted *Kikeriki!*’s initial role as an anti-clerical journal, the publication of antisemitic political cartoons in 1873 indicates antisemitism entered the press even before it had adopted a staunch antisemitic platform.

To demonstrate the use of antisemitic racial stereotyping and prejudice across publications, excerpts from *Die Bombe* and *Der Floh* are incorporated into this analysis. These newspapers, along with *Kikeriki!*, are generally categorized as

¹⁵² Kris qtd. in Ibid., n. pag.

¹⁵³ Ibid., n.pag.

humorous, gossip, or satirical journals and comprise only a fraction of Vienna's satirical, cartoon press at the turn-of-the-century. Yet, whereas *Kikeriki!* and *Der Floh*'s content include global events and societal gossip, *Die Bombe* was intended for the city's artistic community, with antisemitism appearing on a relatively infrequent basis. Although the papers utilize varying artistic styles, the nearly analogous depiction of Jewish society indicates a societal norm concerning the visualization of Jewish stereotypes.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the period of the late nineteenth-century, which saw both the rise in political antisemitism and racial theory; the precise decades studied include the period from 1873 to 1900. The antisemitic political cartoons provided in the following sections indicate relatively little change in the visualization of Viennese Jewry over time. The earliest cartoons are from 1873, the year of the Austrian stock market crash and ensuing economic depression. Despite the strong influence of Austrian Jews in the economic system, relatively few political cartoons from this year demonstrate economic antisemitism.¹⁵⁴ The dearth in antisemitic cartoons from this period is indicative of the movement's relative lack of popularity, even among radical conservatives.

However, antisemitic cartoons appeared on a more frequent basis in 1887, the year Georg von Schönerer presented legislation to the *Reichsrat* proposing the

¹⁵⁴ Despite thorough research in the Austrian National Archives newspaper archives, relatively few cartoons from 1873 appear to blame the economic depression on Jewish society. This outcome is especially surprising given Nathan Marcus' comprehensive dissertation on Austrian Reconstruction and the collapse of global financial markets in the interwar period, which includes a section demonstrating the antisemitic backlash against hyper inflation in Viennese political cartoons. For additional information, see: Marcus, Nathan. *Credibility, Confidence, and Capital: Austrian Reconstruction and the Collapse of Global Finance: 1921 to 1931* (Department of History, New York University).

immigration restrictions on Russian and Romanian Jews. The year indicates a significant turning point for political antisemitism, with Mayor Karl Lueger publically and politically supporting Schönerer's proposed bill, thus effectively breaking political ties with the waning Austrian Democratic Party.¹⁵⁵ The latest dates included encompass the years leading to and following the turn-of-the-century, effectively signifying the perpetuation and expansion of racist ideology for nearly three decades in Viennese newspapers.

The Origins of Hatred: The Formation of a Racial Hierarchy within Viennese Political Cartoons

Late nineteenth-century Viennese political cartoons created a racial hierarchy, which depicted Jewish society as a separate racial, subhuman, and monstrous entity. The concept of the racial hierarchy in European history is most frequently associated with Nazi eugenics and racial ideology, which contested that Aryan Germans comprised a so-called master race. However, the idea of a racial hierarchy was not uncommon in the late nineteenth century; as Vincent Geoghehan and Rick Vilford note, "by the mid-nineteenth century the concept of racial superiority was firmly established in European thought and was by no means confined to the works of

¹⁵⁵ Schorske argues that by supporting Schönerer, Lueger "gave up the attempt to hold together two increasingly disparate tendencies, democracy and antisemitism." Although Lueger did not support Pan-Germanism, the alliance with Schönerer was more politically promising than remaining allied with the "outmoded" Austrian Democrats (Schorske, 139).

German thinkers.”¹⁵⁶ The following sections demonstrate the formation of a racial hierarchy within Viennese cartoons as well as the ability of these cartoons to represent instances of political antisemitism described in the preceding chapter.

In general, for the purposes of this thesis, the cartoons within feature caricatures of race rather than caricatures of specific individuals. As consistent with European racial theory, the cartoons indicate the separation of society into four races: the white race (comprised of Europeans and those generally associated with Western societies), the yellow race (comprised of the Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic races), the black race (comprised of Africans), and the Jew. These cartoons, building upon the widely diffused notions of racial theory, depict Jews as a separate racial entity and one that was subordinate to the yellow and black races. Antisemitic political cartoons capitalized upon traditional stereotypes to diffuse their marginalized view of Viennese Jewry to the population. However, the images transverse traditional stereotypes to present the Jew as both subhuman and a world-devouring monster.

Much like the political cartoon is interpreted for its use of humor in the dispersal of racial prejudice, the cartoons below must be interpreted for their physical portrayal of racial characteristics as well as textual content and relationship to current events. The caricature allows the subject to be readily identifiable by a reader or passerby; therefore, the assignment of racial characteristics to peoples was necessary for both identification and ridicule. The German must be physically differentiated from the Turk, the Turk physically differentiated from the African, and the African physically differentiated from the Jew. As the sections below demonstrate, the

¹⁵⁶ Geoghegan, Vincent and Vilford, Rick, ed., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1994), 127.

disparity between peoples was based on the emerging racial theory. Whether consciously or subconsciously, Viennese cartoonists created both a caricature of a person and indicated his intended place within European society's racial hierarchy.

Yet, a cartoon cannot be exclusively analyzed for its visual presentation of different races and instead should be examined for its text and relationship to broader, national and global events. The content of political cartoons, whether designated through text or setting, is equally as indicative of the artist's perspective on race as it is to his or her reaction to current events. For example, a character's dialogue may relate to antisemitism even without a Jew present in the image. Similarly, context clues, including the cartoon's setting, words written in the background, or objects in a character's hand may indicate an artist's attitude towards a person or current event. The depiction of the African grasping ivory tusks, as will be discussed below, suggests both his exoticism and primitive relationship with nature (see Figure Twelve). Additionally, the increase in the number of cartoons related to the Chinese Boxer Rebellion in 1900 suggests Austrian society's interest as well as Europe's political and economic stake in the region.

Visualizing the Master Race: Western Society at the Fin-de-Siècle

At the turn-of-the-century, racial theorists' definition of the white race encompassed peoples of all nations (with the exception of Jews) on the European

continent.¹⁵⁷ These peoples were perceived as historical conquerors and colonizers of inferior civilizations; the subjugation of African and Asian populations to European imperialism and colonization during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries furthered this view in the European mentality. Commenting on the origins of the human race, German theorist Christoph Meiners described the creation of a great chain of being that ultimately “arrived at the white race which was the master of the world.”¹⁵⁸ Viennese political cartoonists most likely perceived themselves as racially superior; therefore, it is unsurprising that Viennese satirical newspapers present a generally flattering image of German and Western society.

Like Meiners, European racial theorists argued the white races embodied the beauty and features of the Greek ideal, having physical features that mirrored the statues of ancient Greece (see Figure Four).¹⁵⁹ According to French physiognomist Johann Lavater, the French peoples exemplified the ideal body; he writes, “they are tall and straight, have good features, without the least appearance of beards, have regular eyelids, blue eyes, and fine hair.”¹⁶⁰ Lavater’s research primarily analyzed facial structure and features; as Mosse notes, his writings “emphasized the necessary

¹⁵⁷ In 1900, J. Deniker argued the white races of Europe were divided between two peoples: the Nordic and Eastern races. The Eastern race inhabited the territories on the border with traditional Western European Empires and was believed to be a mixed race composed of Mongoloid blood. However, this theory was not widely accepted at the time of publication for the cartoons in this thesis. For additional information on the visualization of Eastern Europe, see: Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

¹⁵⁸ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 13.

¹⁵⁹ Europeans, much like the ancient Greeks, believed in the creation of the ideal, beautiful body. Mosse notes, “Greek beauty provided the ideal-type, which set the aesthetic criteria to which man must relate himself” (Mosse, 11). Nineteenth century racial theorists and European populations sought to emulate this body type, stressing the development of a “fair,” external physical being. All other races were contrasted against the notion of Greek beauty, with none comparing to the original Greek ideal.

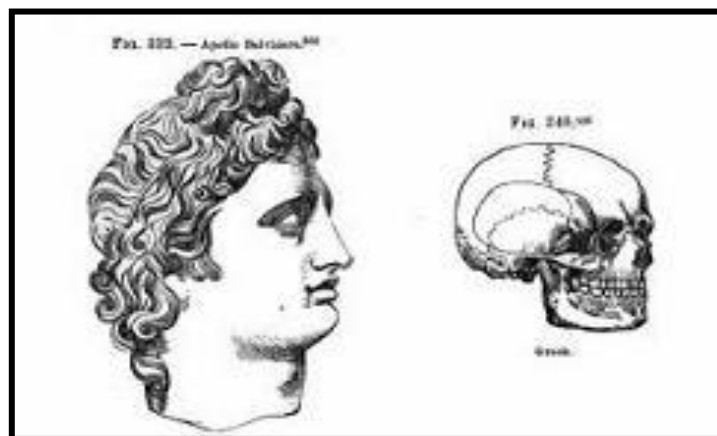
¹⁶⁰ Lavater, Johann Casper, *Essays on Physiognomy* (London: W. Tegg, 1878), 124.

uniformity of the three main divisions of a beautiful face – forehead nose and chin.”¹⁶¹

Although Lavater differentiated physical features between Europeans, his description of the idea body is consistent with the image of the white race depicted in Viennese political cartoons.

This section investigates the Viennese visualization of the white races, arguing that Europeans are primarily distinguishable by their physical features; most often, the Viennese or European subject is depicted with dark hair, a fair visage, defined jaw line, round eyes, and clothing indicative of upper class society. As consistent with nineteenth century racial theory, the white races pictured in *Kikeriki!*, *Der Floh*, and *Die Bombe* indicate no physical distortion attributable to racial theory; both the German and Turk appear racially similar. Differentiations between nationalities and peoples are indicated through cultural items and clothing; for example, the Turk is

Figure Four: Racial Theory Visualization of Greek Beauty¹⁶²



A nineteenth-century visualization of the Greek concept of beauty, which emphasizes the desired cranial structure and facial features. The Greek visage presented above is reflected in cartoons containing Europeans.

¹⁶¹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 25

¹⁶² Knox, *The Races of Men*.

pictured wearing a turban, the Montenegrin pictured wearing a fez, and the Western European pictured in a black top hat. Despite the classification of these ethnic groups as members of the “white race,” a visible distinction still exists between the visualization of Western and East European cultures.

Western Europeans

The image of Western Europeans in political cartoons is not dissimilar from Lavater’s writings on the ideal human being.¹⁶³ Although members of the white race appear without racial distortion, the Viennese cartoonist’s visualization of Western Europeans, especially that of ethnic Germans, is generally more flattering than that of Eastern Europeans. Whereas the typical Eastern European is commonly depicted as a comic figure, the standard image of a Viennese German or Western European is more akin to a pen and ink portrait than a cartoon caricature. Societal stereotypes, such as ethnic dress, differentiate between different nationalities. On the whole, the textual content of these cartoons alludes to Western European intellectual superiority over other populations.

The common visualization of ethnic Germans at the fin-de-siècle is consistent with the example below, which shows a man and woman discussing antisemitism in a Viennese “Night Café” (“Nacht Café”) (see Figure Five). Upon first glance, it is apparent that the cartoon is depicting the woman as a German; the woman, left, is pictured in a dress, hat, and jewelry reflective of her upper class position in Viennese

¹⁶³ To assist the comparison between European peoples, this section is divided into two sections: Western and Eastern Europeans. Although this modern distinction was not commonly recognized during the nineteenth century, it is nonetheless useful to distinguish between the two groups.

society. Her round facial features, most notably the chin and eyes, suggest the beauty

Figure Five: *Die Bombe*, 27 May 1900



“In the Night Café”

-Are you perhaps an Antisemite, my dear Tini?

=What are you thinking?! People like us do not live to hate, but to be contrary!

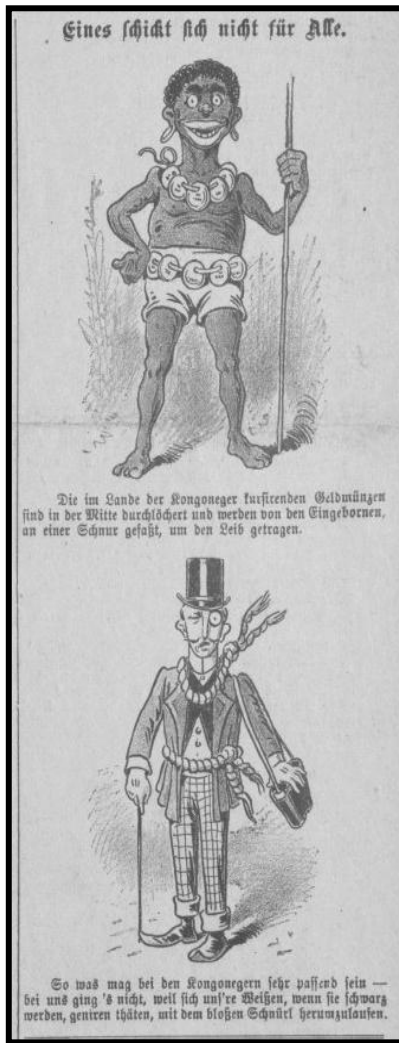
and purity assigned to the white race and mirror the visualization of the ideal Greek visage (see Figure Four). Such depiction of upper class Viennese society is relatively consistent across Viennese newspapers, occurring frequently in publications such as *Die Bombe*, whose content was directed at Vienna’s intellectual audience.

Additionally, the setting of the “Night Café” and dialogue between the two characters provide insight into Vienna’s cultural sphere and its reaction to growing antisemitic discrimination. Vienna’s cafés were the center of intellectual activity, home to both German and Jewish thinkers, academics, authors, and artists. The man, pictured right, may well be a Viennese Jew discussing antisemitism or antisemitic politics with a German woman. Although discussions of antisemitism would not have been uncommon in such a place, the appearance of two intellectuals on the cover of a prominent newspaper discussing the topic indicates the extent to which it had penetrated fin-de-siècle society. While the cartoon does not support the antisemitic movement, with the woman exclaiming, “what are you thinking?!” in response to the man’s question, it nonetheless portrays a scene that was a normal topic of discussion within Viennese cafes.

The second cartoon is of interest for its relationship to current events and racial comparison of the white and black races (see Figure Six). The images references the nineteenth-century carving of Africa, which occurred during the Berlin Conference of 1884-1886. Yet, the cartoon also presents a racial comparison between Europeans and Africans; the white and black races. The African, when compared to the European appears as primitive and backwards when compared to the European character. Although the Western European is not assigned a specific nationality (the character refers to himself and the European population as simply, “us Whites”), he is easily distinguished by common European stereotypes, most notably the monocle, top hat, cane, and patterned jacket. These items are contrasted against the African (indicated to be from the Congo), who is pictured in a similar physical stance and with similar

items. However, the difference between the two figures is apparent from first glance, with the African appearing to satirically imitate the civility of the European culture.

Figure Six: *Kikeriki!* 27 December 1888



“One is not proper for all”

- Those in the land of the Congo negroes circle gold coins that are perforated in the middle and were by the natives fastened with a cord and put around the body.
- That which may be appropriate with the Congo negroes is not for us, because to us Whites that could mean we accidentally hang ourselves!

The cartoon's dialogue and language alludes to nineteenth-century racial theory as well as the intellectual and physical superiority of the white race. The

cartoon's characters are described with terms attributable to nineteenth-century racial theory, indicating the familiarity of Viennese society with the concept of the "Whites" versus "Negroes" (a popular descriptor of the black races). The image's inclusion of gold coins, one of the primary motivations for European colonization and interest in the Congo region, reflects the African nation's supposed wealth.¹⁶⁴ However, as the image satirically notes, the Africans, instead of using the gold for economic development instead elect to fashion it into jewelry, an idea appearing rather foolish to the "civilized" European ("that which may be appropriate for the Congo negroes is not for us"). The representation alludes to the traditional notion of the uncivilized nature of the black races and their envisioned intellectual deficit.

Eastern Europeans

At the turn-of-the-century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was composed of peoples from over twelve different sub-national groups, including nationalities within the modern-day Balkan region and Czech Republic. Yet, the representation of European national minorities (in this section termed "Eastern Europeans") are unaffected by racial stereotypes. The images below suggest Vienna's political cartoon artists, like racial theorists at the time, did not differentiate between peoples of the white race and view all those with a white skin color (excluding Jews) as equals. European national minorities, including those within the Austro-Hungarian Empire,

¹⁶⁴ In 1888, the Central African nation, Congo, was under control of Belgian King Leopold II. Leopold attempted to civilize the native Africans while extract precious minerals and natural resources. The Belgian colonization attempt ultimately led to the exploitation of the natives; an action that was exposed in European and American newspapers.

Ottoman Empire, and Balkan regions are depicted through caricature, with the image portraying middle-to-upper class citizens in clothing specific to their nationality.

Figure Seven: *Kikeriki!* 30 November 1873

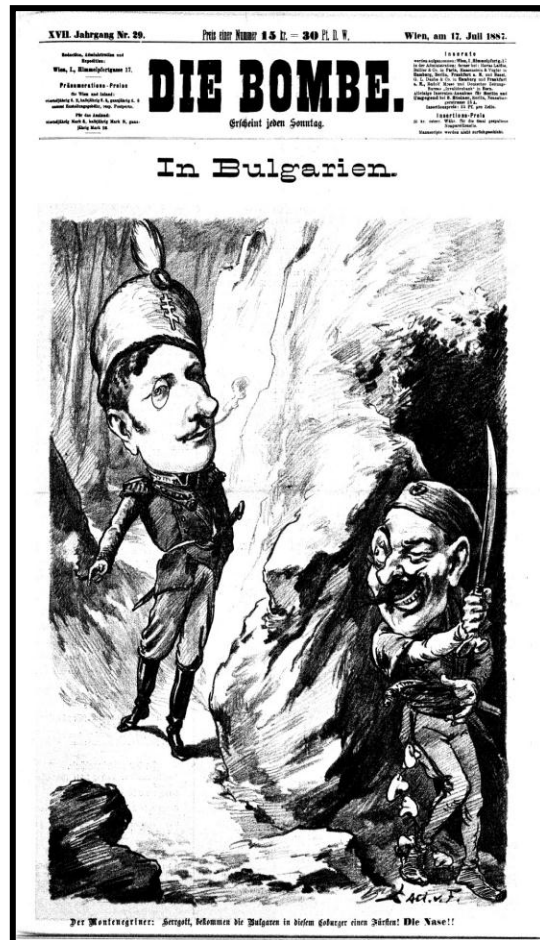


“Parties in the House of Austria”
“Long live the lord of the house!”

Viennese satirical newspapers often exaggerated cultural differences to distinguish between national groups within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The above cartoon indicates nationalities comprising the “House of Austria” on the eve of Franz Joseph’s Silver Jubilee, with each population differentiated by culturally-specific clothing (see Figure Eight). Although some nationalities pictured are not of Germanic origin, most notably the Slavic countries in the Balkan region, the lack of racial

distortion suggests *Kikeriki*'s artists viewed them as racially superior to non-Western ethnicities. Each culture is pictured in clothing and with items indicative of their upper

Figure Eight: *Die Bombe* 17 July 1887



“In Bulgaria”

The Montenegrin: Good God, the Bulgarians have gotten from this Coburger a prince! That nose!

class societal status and nationality; most notable are the Balkan nationalities in the bottom right corner. For example, the Montenegrin (bottom right) is recognizable by the fez, a hat native to the country’s culture. Although increased pan-German nationalist sentiment and Austria-Hungary’s growing nationality problem assisted the

dissolution of the Empire during the early twentieth-century, the relative unity and physical similarity demonstrated by the characters in the House of Austria indicates Viennese political cartoonists viewed race as a greater unifying factor than the nation.

The Bulgarian Crisis of 1887 was of considerable interest to Austrian politics and society, providing another opportunity for insight into the Austrian perception of Eastern European minorities and European nobility (see Figure Eight).¹⁶⁵ Figure Eight indicates the European reaction the 1886 abdication of Alexander Battenberg, Prince of Bulgaria, and subsequent election of Ferdinand I, a member of the European royal House of Saxe-Coburg. Even though the Montenegrin pictured almost appears as the cartoon's antagonist – hiding behind a rock and brandishing a sword – his physical features, much like the Montenegrin in the House of Austria, are indicative of the European visualization of the white races. Once again, the Montenegrin is distinguished from Ferdinand I (pictured left) by his native dress.

However, the cartoon's comical caricature of Ferdinand I is relatively unsurprising, given his European royal heritage and childhood in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The image clearly ridicules Ferdinand I, who is described in historical correspondence as “delicate, eccentric, and effeminate,” the caricature only exaggerates individual features.¹⁶⁶ The exaggeration of his nose (referenced by the Montenegrin's surprised exclamation, “that nose!”) appears across Viennese newspapers and is meant for humorous purposes rather than to emphasize a supposed

¹⁶⁵ The Bulgarian Crisis of 1887 refers to a series of political developments in Bulgaria, which commenced with allegations by the Russian Empire that Ferdinand I's election was invalid. The event played into larger European geopolitics surrounding Russian and Austrian competition for greater political influence in the Balkan region as well as concerns for Bulgaria's independence from the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁶⁶ Aronson, Theo, *Crowns In Conflict: The Triumph And The Tragedy Of European Monarchy, 1910–1918* (London: J. Murray 1986).

Figure Nine: *Der Floh* 29 April 1900



–Allah, Allah! Just look at my empty “sacks”! I cannot pay the \$90,000 debt.
– “All right,” it needn’t be just [type of money]. I’ll take natural resources too.

European racial trait.¹⁶⁷ This image compares to visualizations of Viennese Jewry, provided below, which consistently emphasize the envisioned “Jewish nose.” Although Ferdinand I appears in the same manner as the white races and general European society, is important to note that his caricature is intended to emphasize individual rather than racial traits.

At the turn-of-the-century, the Ottoman Empire, composed of the once-

¹⁶⁷ Other cartoons of Ferdinand I placed emphasis on his nose. For other drawings of Ferdinand I, see: *Kikeriki!* 27 November 1887 and 5 January 1888.

powerful Ottoman Turks was in the midst of a financial and cultural decline (see Figure Nine). The above cartoon satirically alludes to the Ottoman Empire's late nineteenth-century financial troubles, which lead the nation to become widely regarded as the "sick man of Europe." Although not of Germanic descent and located on the periphery of the European continent, at the turn-of-the-century the Ottoman Turks were acknowledged members of the white race. Writing in the 1930s, Resit Galip commented that it was the Turk "who is tall, has a long white face, a straight or arched nose, proportioned lips, often blue eyes" and was "one of the most beautiful examples of the white race."¹⁶⁸ This distinction is apparent in the cartoon, which depicts the Turkish Sultan and his harem with features more akin to Western Europeans than peoples of Africa or Asia. Most notable, the Sultan's women in the background have facial features mirroring the German woman in Figure Four; however, their exotic, Middle Eastern clothing is indicative of their non-Western European culture. Thus, non-Germanic peoples from outside of Western Europe initially escaped the prejudice targeted at other foreign populations.

The Yellow and Black Races: Non-Europeans in Viennese Political Cartoons

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Age of Exploration and ensuing rise of overseas colonies brought Europeans into contact with peoples from Mongolia to Madagascar. Increased interaction between Europeans and other ethnicities, as Mosse notes, incited a transition from Europeans regarding the foreign stranger with "benign

¹⁶⁸ Galip qtd. in Cagaptay, Soner, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

curiosity” to perceiving him as a frightening and dangerous other.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the peoples of Africa and Asia were no longer regarded as the noble savage and instead, with the rise of Gobineau’s *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* and racial theory, perceived as inferior and inhuman subjects for domination. Early European racial theorists classified these peoples as members of the “black” and “yellow” races, assigning them, much like Jewish society, descriptive characteristics that alluded to their cultural and racial inferiority.

The cartoons below indicate the influence of racial theory within both the African and Asian populations. Developments in global transportation and communication, facilitated by the advent of the steam engine and telegraph, brought European nations into a geopolitical struggle to carve spheres of influence in China and Africa (often referred to as the New Imperialism of the nineteenth-century). The characters within cartoons depicting foreign populations appear as racially inferior, with artists primarily emphasizing stereotypical facial characteristics and cranial differences between societies. However, such depictions of non-Europeans emphasize their perceived primitive intellectual and cultural state, presenting them as sub-human when compared to the European population. Although humorous, these cartoons were meant to ridicule perceived backwards populations that existed outside of the European continent.

The first image below represents a caricatured comparison of Germans, Turks, Africans (referred to as “Indians”), and Japanese, indicating a fraction the participants in the Vienna World Exposition of 1873. Although the exposition was intended as a

¹⁶⁹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 13.

Figure Ten: *Kikeriki!* 2 June 1873



“Following hospitality”

To the Turks I had to make concessions,
 To the Indians was I compliant,
 And the Japanese have I flattered!
 Consequentially after the exhibition I will probably appear like this!

gathering of cultures, *Kikeriki's* artists clearly indicate the belief in European superiority over other populations. Each image contains a visualization of the satirical figure Kikeriki, a comical rooster, interacting with nationalities attending the World Exposition; a task appearing quite strenuous given his exhausted posture in the final image (“after the exhibition I will probably appear like this!”). In the two images

where Kikeriki is pictured with an envisioned member of that ethnic group, the figure's features are visibly distorted by racial theory, indicating the nationality as inferior and subhuman when compared to European society.

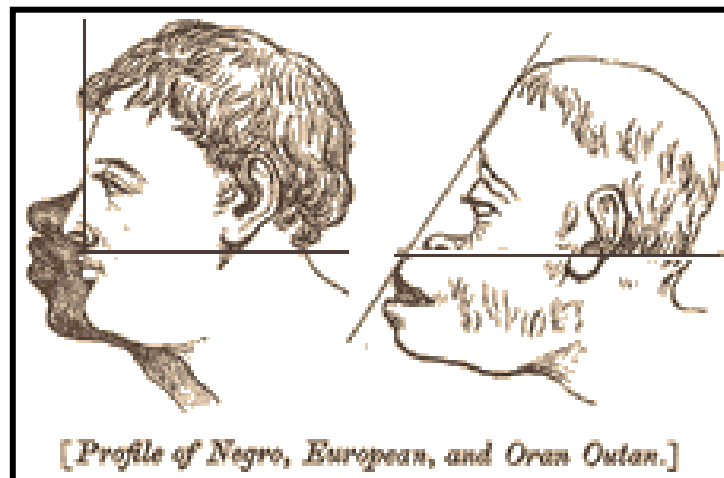
While drawn as exotic, the figures in the cartoon appear as inferior and culturally different from Europeans. Perhaps most significant is the image of the Japanese figure, pictured bottom-left, which strongly exhibits the influence of phrenology. The elongation of the character's skull suggests decreased mental faculties. Additionally, the figure's elongated skull and dark coloring visualizes the Japanese as more akin to an ape or gorilla, alluding to a primitive and animalistic nature. Meanwhile, the African, while depicted in traditional garb, has distinctly different facial features from that of Europeans in the above cartoons. This visualization of both the Japanese and African likens the figures to eighteenth-century racial theory, which suggested Africans were a primitive species more akin to primates than Europeans. Such themes of racial inferiority, explained in greater detail below, are consistent with the works of nineteenth-century racial theorists, who argued for the subjugation of peoples based on racial purity.

The Black Races

The nineteenth-century European scramble for Africa brought a renewed interest in a continent that had traditionally provided slaves to overseas colonies. The historical relationship between European colonizers and African slaves prompted an outpouring of race-related research, especially during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eighteenth-century racial theory explored the relationship of Africans to the

animal world, assigning derogatory physical characteristics to the population based upon their supposed primitive relationship with nature. These characteristics, exhibited below, included the perception that all Africans had wooly hair, coarse lips, and a flat nose. Commenting on the relationship of Africans to nature, Mosse notes, “it was thought no coincidence that the gorilla had its home in African side by side with the black.”¹⁷⁰ Robert Knox’s *The Races of Men* argued this association was indicative of the black race’s primitive state; he questions, “can the black races become civilized? I should say not; their future history, then, must resemble the past.”¹⁷¹ Knox’s infamous visual comparison of the African to the Orangutan, provided below, became one of the defining images of nineteenth century racism and racial theory (see Figure Eleven).

Figure Eleven: Comparison between Europeans, Africans, and the Orangutan



In perhaps one of the most recognizable images of nineteenth-century racial theory and racism, Robert Knox’s visualization of global races compares the features and facial angles of the African, Greek, and Orangutan.

¹⁷⁰ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 12.

¹⁷¹ Knox, *The Races of Men*, 162.

The cartoons below emphasize both the primitive – nearly animalistic nature – of Africans as well as their racial dissimilarity from Europeans (see Figures Twelve and Thirteen). While the cartoon’s primary purpose is to ridicule minority national groups joining the Austrian parliament – suggesting any group has the ability to form a political party (including the supposedly “Wild” Africans) – the image nevertheless racially degrades the African population (see Figure Twelve). In the first image, cranial differences separate the foreigner from the European; the African woman, pictured center, is depicted with an elongated skull and face not dissimilar from the image of the orangutan above (see Figure Eleven). Additionally, the African’s noses reflect the writings of eighteenth century racial theorists, who believed “nose shape was also a determinant for the black, whose flat nose was taken, once again, proving closeness to the animal.”¹⁷² This emphasis on nose shape is additionally viewed as a distinguishing trait of the Jewish population, as discussed in the following section.¹⁷³

The cartoon’s visualization of the African child as an adult references the belief in the heritability and deterministic qualities of race. The child’s face mirrors that of the older African male in the image, lacking the soft features typically associated with childhood. This depiction echoes Galton’s comments regarding the heritability of

¹⁷² Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 15.

¹⁷³ Neil MacMaster notes the relationship between Africans and Jews in his heavily researched article, “Black Jew – white Negro.” He argues that “antisemitism and the construction of cross-racial stereotypes” is relatively neglected within academic circles. However, as MacMaster argues, the similarities between antisemitism and racial theories on black Africans are similar. He notes, “Against a background of deepening political antisemitism, colonial racism, Social Darwinism and eugenics, the Jews were perceived as a danger both through their impurity and biological mixing with blacks.” For additional information see: N. MacMaster, “Black Jew – white Negro: antisemitism and the construction of cross-racial stereotypes,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 6 (2000).

race; given that race is an inherited condition it is expected that the child would inherit the physical characteristics of the parent. Recording physical observations of the children of African slaves transported to European colonies, Francois Bernier comments on the hereditability of skin color, concluding, “their [African] blackness is due to genetic factors for African children born from parents who are transported to cold climates are as dark as their parents.”¹⁷⁴ The visualization of the child as an adult is repeated in cartoons containing Asian and Jewish children, yet is not present those containing European children. Such imagery, discussed in greater detail below, alludes to the savage nature of the foreign child.

Figure Twelve: *Kikeriki!* 20 February 1887



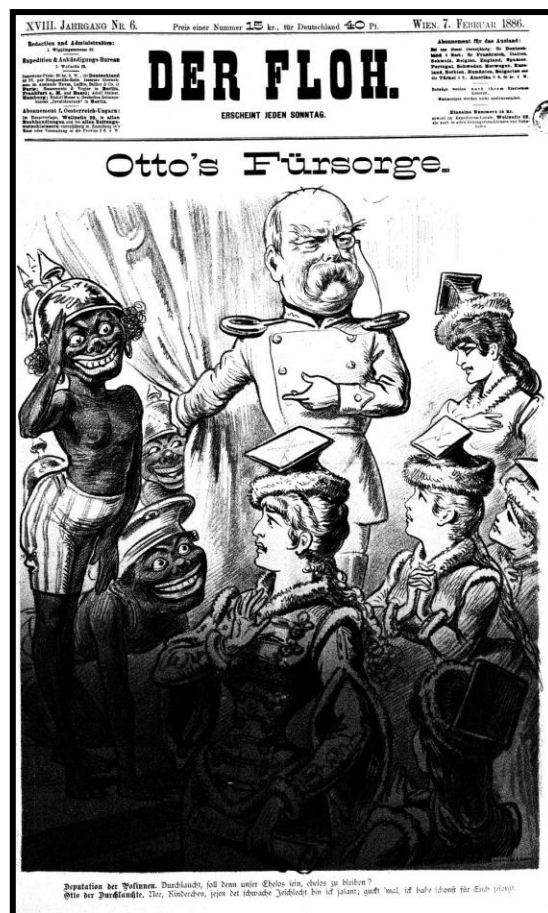
“Near the Parliament”

-Hehe! What do you lot want?
-Just let us in, we want to found the Wild Party.

¹⁷⁴ Siep, Stuurman, “Francois Bernier and the Invention of Racial Classification,” *Journal of Social History* 50 (2000): 5.

While the African's facial features indicate their close relationship to nature, cultural clues in the image also support the idea of their perceived primitive state. practical in humid, subtropical climates, appears as impractical when compared to the fully clad European. The three characters are drawn in traditional garb. However, their clothes appear as tattered and crudely fashioned, lacking the refinement of European's fur-lined garment. Additionally, the African male is drawn carrying a pair of ivory

Figure Thirteen: *Der Floh* 7 February 1886



Otto's Welfare

Deputation of Poles: Your Highness, should us unmarried ones remain unmarried?
Otto [von Bismarck] the Serene: Naw, little children, I am very gallant when it comes to the weaker sex. Look, I have compassionately provided for you!

tusks, an exotic item of considerable wealth and interest to Europeans. When combined with the African's ragged clothing, these items communicate the belief in Africans as a primitive and unrefined population.

The final cartoon presents an interesting comparison between two German territories: Poland and German West Africa (see Figure Thirteen). Following the Third Partition of Poland (1795), a significant concentration of Polish nationals were forcibly incorporated into the German state. Pictured center, German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck ("Otto the Serene") satirically suggests the African men as husbands for the delegation of Polish women, referencing the eighteenth-century movement of Prussian women to the colonies. The cartoon additionally adopts a demeaning attitude towards women, with Bismarck referring to the female Polish delegation as "little children"). However, the cartoonist also satirically targets Chancellor Bismarck. Titled "Otto's Welfare," the cartoon suggests Bismarck is both supporting and encouraging racial intermarriage, a concept that was generally frowned upon by racial theorists and European society. Despite their perceived child-like state, the Polish women are drawn in a manner more akin to the German and Turkish women in Figures Four and Nine. In fact, the only apparent physical distortion of the Polish women's fair facial features is the result of their disgust at the imagined possibility of marrying an African "savage."

Figure Thirteen differs slightly from the following cartoons of Asians and Jews by portraying the Africans as a primitive, but comic race. The African characters, pictured right, are comically drawn in German military helmets, with one figure mimicking the traditional European salute. As demonstrated with Figure Six, the

Africans appear to mimic European society, yet ultimately appear foolish and uncivilized. Once again, the image emphasizes the African lips and nose; an exaggeration also indicated above in Figure Six. These demeaning features, apparent in both *Kikeriki!* and *Der Floh*, indicate the racial and mental inferiority of the black races.

The Yellow Races

The Boxer Rebellion, the result of increased ethnic tension following renewed European expansionist policies within Imperial China, received considerable attention in Viennese newspapers.¹⁷⁵ The images below represent two of many cartoons depicting the European reaction to Chinese violence against westerners, therefore providing insight into the European perception of the “yellow race” (see Figures Fourteen and Fifteen).¹⁷⁶ Although Asiatic culture was considered in “vogue” during the eighteenth century, by the late nineteenth century, the Chinese, like the Jew and African, had become the subject of racial degradation.¹⁷⁷ The Sino-Japanese War and

¹⁷⁵ The Boxer Rebellion of 1900-1901 was a period of anti-foreign violence protesting further western expansion into China, whose imperial army had been subjected to a series of military defeats by Europeans, Americans, and the Japanese in the late nineteenth century. The primary goal of the uprising, led by the “Boxers” (supposed members of a Chinese secret society), was to expel all foreign influence from the country. The Boxer’s targeting of foreign missionaries led to the outbreak of violence between Europeans and Chinese, which quickly escalated into widespread violence.

¹⁷⁶ For additional portrayals of ethnic Chinese in Viennese newspapers, see: *Kikeriki!* 20 April 1873

¹⁷⁷ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 13. Mosse notes the popularity of Chinese culture in eighteenth century Europe, writing the “Chinese ... were a novelty, much honored wherever they went” (13). Evidence of Chinese cultural popularity is seen in the gardens, porcelain, and Chinese villages that appeared in Europe throughout the century. However, as Mosse indicates, the works of Arthur de Gobineau “was to set the tone for a hostile view of the yellow races” (13).

Boxer Rebellion brought Europe and Asia into a closer political and economic relationship, allowing access to a country long isolated from western influence.¹⁷⁸

The cartoons below contrast Western Europeans to the Chinese, supposed members of the Mongol or “yellow” race. Each cartoon contains Prussian Count Alfred von Waldersee, drawn with broad shoulders and in German military uniform, and Chinese citizens, drawn in traditional garb. However, the right image utilizes this difference in clothing to further degrade the race (see Figure Fifteen). The embroidered clothing seems to support de Lapouge’s view that “the yellow race ... [was] without scruples and had no sense of values, being wholly commercial.”¹⁷⁹ Although the cartoons depict similar events and themes, published slightly over a month apart, the artists emphasize different perceived racial features.

The left cartoon depicts an envisioned future scene of Chinese women subordinating themselves to Western influence, represented in this image as Prussian Count Alfred von Waldersee, a commander of European forces during the Boxer Rebellion (see Figure Fourteen). Published immediately following the flight of Chinese Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi from the Forbidden City on August 15, the cartoon clearly anticipates a European victory over imperial force. This anticipated victory alludes to the superiority of European military forces over the Chinese army. Yet, the cartoon also adopts a degrading view of Chinese women akin to the scene in Figure Thirteen. Count Waldersee indicates the subordination of both

¹⁷⁸ Mosse argues the gradual opening of Asia to western influence facilitated the rise in racial theory regarding the “yellow race.” Although Europeans recognized China as a powerful and mystical medieval empire, Mosse alleges increased interaction between Europeans and Chinese led to eradication of the traditional perception of the Chinese as mystical beings – the “noble savage. For more on this transition in racial theory, see: Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, p. 13.

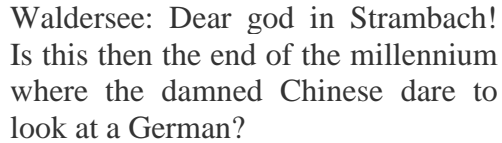
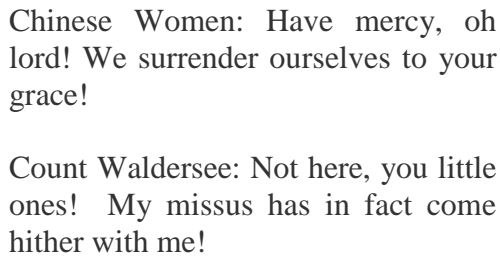
¹⁷⁹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 60.

Chinese and European woman, referring to the Chinese woman – who have prostrated themselves before the commander – as “little ones.” However, he also satirically alludes to his own infidelity, commenting that his “missus,” instead of wife, accompanied him to the East. Therefore, the prostration of the Chinese women before Waldersee (“we surrender ourselves to your grace!”) contributes to the perception of women both as sexually and racially subordinate to Europeans.

The *Die Bombe* cartoon additionally emphasizes the supposed “slanted” Chinese eyes, a distinctive feature utilized to differentiate between Europeans and Asiatic races that quickly morphed into a popular and often offensive stereotype of Asian societies. Similar to the Chinese figures in Figure Fifteen, the women’s eyes do not appear functional – reduced to mere lines. Additionally, their features appear very simple, with no defining physical traits other than heavily emphasized eyes and eyelids. This derogatory image is contrasted against Count Waldersee, whose fair hair, round eyes, and defined facial features are reflective of the perceived Greek ideal.

The theme of Chinese subjugation is continued in the excerpt from *Kikeriki!*, which was published following the initiation of peace negotiations between the European and Chinese on 18 September 1900 to end the Boxer Rebellion (see Figure Fifteen). In this image, the Chinese have more distinct, but racially degraded facial features. While the artist from *Der Floh* visualizes the Chinese with heavily slanted eyes, nearly to the point of appearing closed, the cartoonist for this image depicts the Chinese eyes as permanently crossed with similar, heavily-arched eyebrows. Like the preceding cartoon, Waldersee’s dialogue once again suggests the inferiority of the Chinese, commenting: “the dammed Chinese dare look at a German!” Such

Figure Fourteen and Fifteen: *Der Floh* 19 August 1900 and *Kikeriki!* 23 September 1900



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with Chinese in eighteenth-century Singapore, European geographer Katherine Girindrod, writes :

One cannot help being seen by servants as one bathes and dresses, for tatties are pervious and venetians moveable, and this morning a cross-eyed Chinaman stared in at the bedroom to see if he could come and clean up when I was as innocent of clothing as ever Eve was, and this creature pull the punkah in the hall where we read the papers after dinner!¹⁸⁰

Girindrod's comment indicates the European perception of Chinese as not humans, but "creatures." Although the artist depicts the Chinese as wearing native clothing, even this image presents them as inferior, especially when compared with the preceding image (see Figure Fourteen). While Count Waldersee is depicted in military uniform, the child, man, and woman are depicted lower-class dress. Additionally, the depiction of the child (pictured far right) with features indistinct from the Chinese man indicates the belief that children were born as adults, a theme that also appears in antisemitic political cartoons.

The Eternal Other: The Visualization of an Inferior Jewish Society

Despite a presence in Europe since the Medieval Ages, European Jews were never regarded as fully assimilated members of the European population. Early racial theorists found the racial classification of Jews problematic; as Mosse notes, "the Jews were either ignored by anthropologists during the eighteenth-century or considered part of the Caucasian race."¹⁸¹ Initially, Jews were acknowledged as members of the

¹⁸⁰ Doran, Christine, "Golden Marvels and Gilded Monsters: Two Women's Accounts of Colonial Malaya," *Asian Studies Review* 22 (1998).

¹⁸¹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 14.

white race, revered as “a cultured people who had rejected the use of force and thus avoided the brutal and atavistic instincts common to the Christians.”¹⁸² As Valdman notes, the until the twentieth century, the Jewess was presented in British literature as an example of great beauty, lacking the negative vices attributed with her gentile counterparts.¹⁸³ At certain points in history, Jews were even “considered the climax of the white race,” the ultimate point of ascendancy for all whites and from after which there would commence an unavoidable racial decline.¹⁸⁴ Yet, ultimately, racial theorists concluded the entirety of European Jewry was unsuitable for classification within the European-based white races and therefore comprised a separate and inferior racial category.

In the eyes of nineteenth-century racial theorists, the Jew was the ultimate outsider, an “other” who embodied greed and treachery. Unlike the Africans and Asiatic races, the Jew had no homeland and therefore sought to infiltrate and colonize European society to advance his own interests. This negative perception of European Jewry is apparent in Viennese political cartoons, which depict the Jews as a villainous and sinister race. However, Viennese cartoonists also used their medium as a vehicle for the diffusion of prejudice, propagating the notion of the Jewish population as a different, inhuman, and monstrous race that was separate and unsuitable for incorporation into Viennese society or a pan-German state.

The cartoons below exhibit the many depictions of the Jew in Viennese satirical newspapers. In each cartoon, the Jew is readily distinguishable from a

¹⁸²Ibid., 58.

¹⁸³ Valdman, Nadia, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁸⁴Ibid., n. pag.

European by his exaggerated and derogatory physical and cultural characteristics – a trend that appears across newspapers. The cartoons in the first section reflect instances of political antisemitism described in the preceding chapter, commenting in the Jewish role in art, religion, and economics. Building upon growing pan-German nationalist sentiment, the cartoonists indicate that Viennese Jewry comprises a separate racial entity from German society. However, Viennese artists build upon growing antisemitic sentiment and underlying racial prejudices by depicting the Jew not only as inhuman, but as a world-dominating monster. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the depiction of the monstrous Jew is perhaps most unsettling due to its later implications in European history.

The Jew as a Stereotype

The visualization of Viennese Jewry is relatively uniform within political cartoons, suggesting the creation of a societal norm regarding the specific features that distinguished a Jew from a German. Yet, in public, a Viennese Jew was nearly indistinguishable from the German population. Hitler acknowledges this appearance in *Mein Kampf*: “I did not see Jews, despite the fact that Vienna already counted two hundred thousand of them among two million people at this time.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore, artists distinguished Germans from Jewish society by emphasizing both the theme Jewish dominance in the public sector and their perceived racial traits. Political cartoons frequently depict Jews as men, with an elongated skull, defined nose, and dark hair. The cartoons also emphasize perceived social characteristics of Jewish society: their

¹⁸⁵ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*.

desire for financial gain and world domination. Described in greater detail below, these traits create a caricature of a population largely built upon traditional stereotypes and racial theory.

Caricatures of Viennese Jews depict them with features and clothes from the Hassidic tradition, a form of religious orthodoxy generally requiring strict observance and worship. Hassidic Jews were easily distinguishable from the German population, for, as Kamalipour and Carilli note, “they wear black clothes, with streimels (large black hats), long beards, and long curly sidelocks.”¹⁸⁶ However, Rozenblit notes Hassidism was not the predominant form of Judaism in Vienna, writing, “70% of Hungarian Jews in Vienna were ... non-Hasidic orthodox Jews.”¹⁸⁷ The depiction of Viennese Jews using religious stereotypes suggests cartoonists desired to portray the Jewish population in a recognizable, but different manner. While the Jew was nearly indistinguishable from the average German, the caricature of the Hassidic Jew assigned minority religious characteristics to the entire population, which made them separate and easily recognizable.

Although the visualization of Jewish society built upon cultural stereotypes, cartoonists also incorporated elements of racial theory to present Jews as a different, non-German race. Viennese artists viewed Jews as biologically inferior and expressed this inferiority through the elongation of the skull and assignment of specific facial characteristics. Nineteenth-century pseudo-scientific studies dispersed the idea that the Jewish head was distinguishable from the European and “thought to have a peculiar

¹⁸⁶ Kamalipour, Yahya R. and Carilli, Theresa, *Cultural Diversity and the United States Media* (New York: SUNY Press, 1998), 102.

¹⁸⁷ Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna*, 33.

shape.”¹⁸⁸ This theory indicated Jews were more-closely related to other inferior races, namely the Africans and Asians (who are depicted similarly within cartoons). When compared to Europeans, a Jewish cartoon character’s skull appears as elongated, a feature additionally emphasized by the inclusion of the *stremiel*.

The Jewish nose, an indicator of the supposed cunning Jewish nature, became a defining caricature of the population in the nineteenth-century. However, the identification of the Jewish nose was not a new phenomenon; as Klaus Hoedl notes, “the first reports on the ‘Jewish nose’ date from the thirteenth century.”¹⁸⁹ The notion that the nose alone could identify a Jew was rapidly incorporated into nineteenth-century racial theory. In the article “*Bemerkung über den Kopf der Juden* (Remarks over the Jewish Head),” Dutch physician Wachter comments that the Jewish nose had “a strange, unnatural form.”¹⁹⁰ Racial theorists argued the exterior nose was indicative of internal characteristics; as Mosse notes, “the so-called hooked Jewish nose” was an “outward sign of the absence of inward grace.”¹⁹¹ Other studies claimed the “Roman and Greek noses indicated the conqueror, the man of refinement of taste,” while the “Jewish nose designated a wary and suspicious character.”¹⁹² Observance of facial features quickly defined racial studies, with anthropologists comparing noses across peoples and species.

Another distinguishing physical characteristic of the Jewish race was its dark hair, which was noted long before Virchow’s pseudo-scientific study of Jewish and

¹⁸⁸ Hoedl, Klaus, “Physical Characteristics of the Jews,” *Jewish Studies*: 1.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, n.pag.

¹⁹⁰ Wachter, ‘Bemerkung über den Kopf der Juden’, *Magazin der Gesellschaft naturforschender Freunde für die neuesten Entdeckungen in der gesamten Naturkunde* (1812): 64.

¹⁹¹ Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, 15.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, n.pag.

German schoolchildren. The persistence of dark hair among European Jews is noted by Adolf Hitler, who provides a scathing description of the “Jewish youth” in *Mein Kampf*:

With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people.¹⁹³

The Jewish dark hair, as noted above, is indicative of Jewish society’s classification within the dark races. These “dark races” as Hitler alleges in the preceding statement, were regarded as biologically inferior to German society; interracial marriage, especially between a Jew and a German was believed to detract from the purity of the white races. Yet, at the turn-of-the-century, such radical views were not embraced by the entirety of Viennese society. The physical description of Jewish racial features is critically described by Robert Knox, who writes that the Jew was a “dark, tawny, yellowed coloured person, with jet black hair and eyes seemingly color.”¹⁹⁴ When compared to the fair European countenance, the Jew was envisioned as the opposite. The association of Jews with the “dark races,” indicates their racial inferiority, suggesting any sexual interaction with Germans would contaminate the purity of the white race.

Yet, the envisioned Jewish race was not confined to a set of physical features but also included perceived social characteristics, most significantly the widespread misperception that the entire Jewish society was motivated by wealth and greed. As noted in the previous chapter, Viennese antisemitic movements derived considerable support from the economically struggling lower and middle classes. Thus, European

¹⁹³ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*.

¹⁹⁴ Knox, *The Races of Men*, 300.

Jews were regarded by German society as driven by a constant financial greed; the desire to expand their wealth at the cost of others. The image of the “greedy Jew” appeared throughout nineteenth century Europe, most frequently warning society to guard society against Jewish economic interests.

Political Antisemitism Through the Lens of the Cartoon

This section investigates the use of Viennese political cartoons as vehicles of political antisemitism, which is defined in the previous chapter as the nineteenth-century deviation from traditional, religious-based antisemitism. Much like the section in the preceding chapter, the cartoons below indicate antisemitic discrimination in Vienna’s political, religious, and economic spheres. Political cartoonists emphasized traditional Jewish stereotypes and racial features, frequently presenting them as a race consumed by economic greed. Although the cartoons is intended to satirically and comically portray Viennese Jewry, they ultimately fuel themes of Jewish societal domination.

Preceding the turn-of-the-century, notions of Jewish legal and religious domination had penetrated the public rhetoric of Vienna’s radical conservatives. The cartoon below envisions the future infiltration of both the Catholic religion and Jewish presence into Austria’s regional courts (Figure Sixteen). The subtitle to the cartoon implies the supposed effects of changes to the legal system, presenting the situation “if the gown were to be introduced as the official attire for judges and lawyers.” This cartoon demonstrates the conservative apprehension to religious permeation into the court system; as previously noted, *Kikeriki!* was both staunchly anti-Catholic and anti-

Figure Sixteen: *Kikeriki!* 30 January 1887



A Future Scene in the Regional Courts
 (If the gown were to be introduced as the official attire for judges and lawyers)
 “I kiss your hand, Reverend.”
 “Accidental respect towards a Jew is a no-no, after all.”

Semitic. The reference to the “gown,” a traditional religious garb worn by Catholic clergymen, indicates the cartoon’s association with the Catholic Church. Therefore, Kikeriki is quite surprised when he mistakenly makes a polite greeting to the “Reverend” (“I kiss your hand, Reverend”) and discovers that he is a Jew. Such action was considered “dishonorable,” for “any association [with a Jew] ... has to be avoided.”¹⁹⁵ While this belief was certainly indicative of a minute segment of Viennese society, it nonetheless disseminates the notion that Jews should not be treated with equal respect.

As consistent with the following images, the Jewish figure (mistakenly referred to as “Reverend”) demonstrates the influence of racial theory and notion that the Jew was physically dissimilar from the German. To differentiate the Jew from a Catholic

¹⁹⁵ Schnitzler, Arthur, *My Youth in Vienna* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 128.

monk, the artist utilizes traditional racial stereotypes, emphasizing the figure's distinguishing nose, hair, and beard. Although Viennese Jews comprised a significant portion of the city's legal sector, often working as judges, they had little presence in the Empire's regional courts. The notion of a Jew presiding as a judge in the regional court indicates the conservative belief of European Jew's future societal expansion, both into politics and religion.

Displaying similar racial features as the first cartoon, the image below also invokes stereotypes regarding supposed Jewish racial traits and greed as well as harkens to the traditional myth of the unclean, or “dirty,” Jew (see Figure Seventeen).

Figure Seventeen: *Kikeriki!* 14th May 1887



“Practical Application”

—See, Schmuleleben, how good it is that we never go to the baths; every day one reads about a “Thief in the Bath[house].”

When compared with the preceding cartoon (Figure Sixteen), which purposefully depicts the Jew character in clothing typically associated with the Catholic clergy, this image relates to the common societal perception that all Viennese Jews were of the Hassidic tradition. Both characters are pictured wearing traditional Hassidic clothes, indicated by the long, black coat, facial hair, and stremiel. Here, the artist also emphasizes racial features, notably the “hooked” Jewish nose and elongated skull. The belief that the Jewish nose was indicative of a cunning and treacherous character is stressed in the cartoon’s theme, which warns the reader to be wary of the “thief in the bath [house],” whom the artist implies is most likely a Jew.

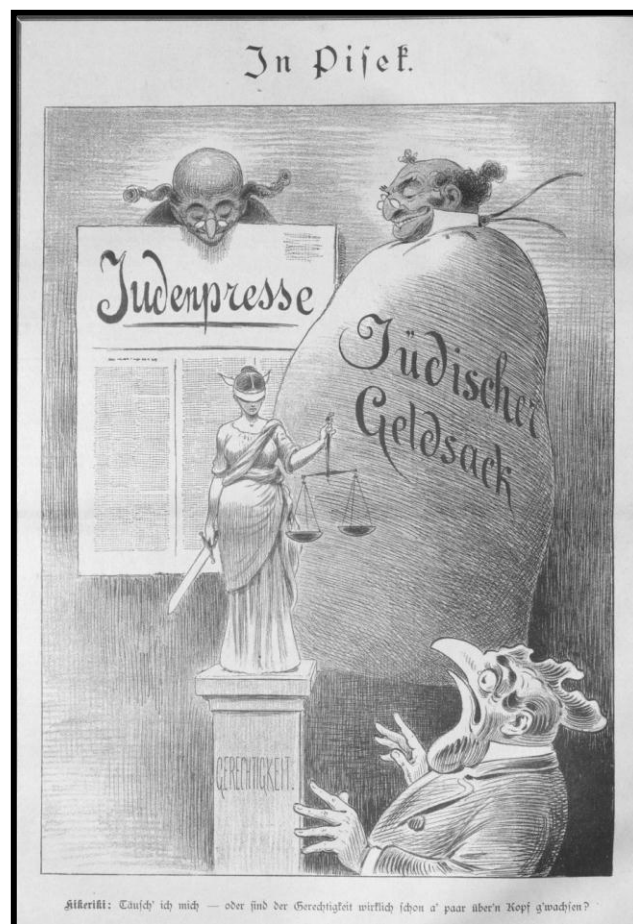
Despite academic literature cautioning the historian’s tendency to exaggerate nineteenth-century Jewish wealth, the stereotype of the greedy Jew was often utilized as a weapon against Jewish perceived economic success. In this image, the Jewish figure ironically remarks that it is “good” that they do not frequent the public bathhouse, for risk of being accused of petty theft. The underlying message of this cartoon implies that Jewish greed was so great that they would consider stealing from Germans in public places to further their financial gain. Robert Knox notes the supposed greed of Jewish society, writing, they “do no work, but ... live by the industry of others.”¹⁹⁶ Economic discrimination against Jews is reflected in Vienna’s crime statistics; Boyer notes, “statistics ... indicate that Jews generally suffered a higher rate of convictions for misdemeanors in financial affairs.”¹⁹⁷ Such information additionally ties into the cartoon’s comment that, had the characters frequented a Viennese bathhouse, they risked accusations of theft.

¹⁹⁶ Knox, *The Races of Men*, 108.

¹⁹⁷ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 80.

However, the cartoon satirically evokes the traditional myth that Jews did not frequently bathe themselves (“it is good that we never go to the baths”). A common misperception of Jewish society was their supposed poor personal hygiene. According to the regulations of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, the orthodox Jew was prohibited from bathing, using bathing oils, or washing their hands. Although this stereotype that the Jew was eternally unclean, or “dirty.” While the two characters in the cartoon s do not appear dirty, their comments harken to this traditional myth.

Figure Eighteen: *Kikeriki!* 4 November 1900



Kikeriki: Am I mistaken, or did a pair of heads grow o’er Justice?
 holiday occurs on a once-yearly basis, it nonetheless contributed to the societal

The theme of Jewish social domination and economic greed is repeated in the above image, which supports the belief that the Jew had infiltrated both Vienna's economic system and the liberal, or "Jewish" press (see Figure Eighteen). Published at the turn-of-the-century, the image depicts Kikeriki remarking that "a pair of heads" have grown over justice, with the heads clearly belonging to Viennese Jews (once again distinguishable by their hair and nose). As noted in the previous chapter, by the turn-of-the-century, a significant percentage of the city's newspapers were either owned or staffed by Jewish journalists. Steven Beller aptly describes the implication of the Jewish association with the press, writing, "in an age where the press was the only mass medium," the concept of the primary form of mass communication being dominated by Jews was particularly troubling to antisemites. Thus, *Kikeriki!* attempts to call attention to Jewish bias in the press by including the newspaper, labeled "*Judenpress*" (Jewish press), in the background. The additional inclusion of the "*Judische Geldsack*" (Jewish gold sack) once again contributes to the theme of Jewish economic wealth, suggesting that those who buy Jewish newspapers were supporting their financial and societal domination.

Although Viennese historiography notes racial discrimination remained at the fringe of society, the final cartoon in this section highlights the racial barrier surrounding complete Jewish assimilation into society, referencing the Jewish petition to enter the city's *Turnverein*, or gymnastic clubs (see Figure Nineteen).¹⁹⁸ The image depicts a Jew, distinguishable by his exaggerated nose and top hat, cleverly arguing

¹⁹⁸ The Turnverein was a gymnastic sports society that arose in the German Confederation and spread to Austria during the nineteenth century.

Figure Nineteen: *Kikeriki!* 20 November 1887



Gymnast: What do you want here?
 Jew: I wish to register for the gymnasium!
 Gymnast: Go away! Don't you know that here only pure Aryans have access?
 Jew: But I am an Arian!
 Gymnast: You!!?? How?
 Jew: I am a **vegetarian**!

with the head of a *Turnverein* for his admission to the club. While ingenious, his comment about being a “vegetarian” (“but I am a vegetarian!”) once again alludes to the Jew’s supposed cunning and deceitful nature.

The decision of the *Turnverein* to admit peoples of different ethnicities (non-Aryans) was a topic of heated debate in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Interestingly, the artist presents the cartoon’s two character as visually similar, with both figures depicted with a hat and beard. Although the cartoon’s text initially appears as a harmless and humorous pun, the artist ridicules Jewish society. The Jew perceives himself as a member of Aryan society, yet despite apparent physical similarities, the Gymnast

immediately recognizes the racial difference between the two, exclaiming with disbelief, “you?! How?!”

The Jew as Inhuman

The above cartoons demonstrate that Viennese artists utilized the political cartoon to depict the city’s Jewish population as socially and racially different from Germans through the use of racial and societal stereotypes. While the increase in racial antisemitism is frequently associated with the years preceding and encompassing the turn-of-the-century, the images below indicate the belief in the inferiority and inhumanity of Jewish society arose as early as 1873. Although the cartoons of Africans and Asians demonstrated similar themes, these ethnicities existed outside of German and European society while the Jew existed among the Germans. The notion of the Jewish population as subhuman appears in the memories of Arthur Schnitzler, who writes:

Every son of Jewish mother, every human being in whose veins flows Jewish blood, is from the day of his birth without honor and void of all the more refined emotions. He cannot differentiate between what is dirty and what is clean. He is ethically subhuman.¹⁹⁹

This perception of Jewish society, including the notion that the Jew “is ethically subhuman,” is not exclusive to one publication – similar themes of racial subjugation are evident across Vienna’s newspapers. Additionally, these cartoons indicate the belief that Jewish children were born and appear as adults as well as present previous themes of racial degradation.

¹⁹⁹Schnitzler, *My Youth in Vienna*, 128.

Figure Twenty: *Kikeriki!* 5 October 1873



“The Invited [guest] Patti”

Banker: Apologies, my dear, but since the great crash, I can only come up with “Krach-Mandeln” [crash almonds].

The first cartoon presents a disturbing comparison of a Jewish family and German woman in the aftermath of the Panic of 1873 (see Figure Twenty). The February stock market crash brought Europe into a period of economic depression, which primarily harmed lower and middle class businessmen. Published during the ensuing economic depression, the cartoon ironically infers that the Jew (portrayed as the “Banker”) is economically affected by Europe’s financial decline (indicated by his comment on the ability to only serve “crash almonds”). Yet, this claim is somewhat suspect, given the Jewish family’s upper-class dress and the presence of a butler in the background. Antisemites -- building off of the growing notion of economic

antisemitism -- alleged that the market crash was the result of Jewish-backed capitalist economics. The association of Judaism is evident in this cartoon, which is one of the few images to depict antisemitic backlash to Jewish economic success.

The image's physical depiction of the Jewish family is particularly troubling, given their alien and inhuman features when compared to the German woman. Both the Jewish male and female lack definitive facial features; drawn with prominent double chins, indicative of their wealth, and the stereotypically hooked Jewish nose.

Figure Twenty-One: *Die Bombe* 28 August 1887



Little Moritz: What is your name, please?
Herr Engel (wanting him to cleverly guess his name): My name? Guess once: I come directly from heaven; what should my name be?
Little Moritz: Abraham!

Additionally, the Jewish female's head, when compared with the German woman, is elongated, mirroring the cranial depictions in phrenological studies. The Jewish children, drawn with napkins around their necks in an attempt to demonstrate civility, also lack the same distinct facial features. Thus, this image, as well as the others below, exceeds the suggestion that Jews were racially inferior to Germans, by indicating that they are inferior and retaining only the most basic aspects of humanity.

The second cartoon builds upon these themes by emphasizing the appearance of the Jewish child as embodying not a child, but an adult (see Figure Twenty-One). Like the preceding cartoons of the African and Asian children (see Figures Twelve and Fifteen), the Jewish child (whose child-like state is evident in his name, "Little Moritz") already exhibits the derogatory stereotypes assigned to his parents. At a young age, the Jewish child's head has developed into the elongated skull indicative of decreased mental faculties, while his nose is depicted as hooked, thus indicating the supposed character of deceit and treachery. This image reiterates the claim that Jewish children are born as adults and the idea that the child, due to his parent's assigned race, is destined to stereotypes and failure of the parents. Such ideas build off of the concepts proposed in Mosse, who notes that certain racial theorists viewed race as permanent and unchanging.

The final cartoon, depicted below, presents one of the most well known images to emerge from the nineteenth century Dreyfus Affair (see Figure Twenty-Two). The French scandal and its aftermath, which occurred over a lengthy period from 1894 to 1906, reflected growing antisemitic sentiment within the European population. Published in the midst of the scandal, the cartoon alludes to developments that alleged

the entire political affair concerning French military captain Alfred Dreyfus, was the result of Jewish treachery (“in the Dreyfus Affair, the more that is exposed, the more Judah is embarrassed”). Here, the cartoon indicates that European Jewish society has been stripped to its core, revealing the shriveled and deformed skeleton underneath. The Jewish skeleton is racially degraded and physically distorted: his skull is elongated and his nose is hooked while the bent spine alludes to both weariness and physical inferiority. Although the skeleton still indicates a basic human form, a feature not present in the final cartoon below (see Figure Twenty-Four), it contributes to the eventual representation of Jewish society as a monster.

Figure Twenty-Two: *Kikeriki!* 24 September 1899



In the Dreyfus Affair, the more that is exposed, the more Judah is embarrassed.

The Jew as a Monster

In this final section, the Viennese Jew faces the ultimate degradation: the visualization as a monster. While the exaggeration and degradation of racial stereotypes intended to present the Jewish population as inferior and separate from German society, the image of the monster is meant to evoke fear. Writing on antisemitism and Vampires in British popular culture, Sarah Robinson notes, “one form of [antisemitic] prejudice involves the portrayal of Jews as monsters, a process that enabled some to rationalize and justify their persecution.”²⁰⁰ As the concluding images demonstrate, by 1900, the Viennese political cartoon of the Jew evolved into one depicting the population as a world-dominating monster that sought to control Viennese and European society.

Upon a brief glance, the first cartoon seems to depict the image of a Jewish figure - drawn as a bat or monster - carrying away Viennese antisemitic Mayor Karl Lueger (see Figure Twenty-Three)

. Yet, the text indicates this apparent visualization is instead Jewish banker and politician Lucian Brunner comically carrying away Lueger, a political opponent, via “a hand-glider.” The image is intended to ridicule Brunner, who strongly objected to antisemitic legislation proposed by Lueger and the Christian Social Party. Like the preceding cartoons, Brunner is portrayed as a Hassidic Jew, with a heavily emphasized beard and chin. Certainly, the Jewish politician was not an airship enthusiast, with the cartoonist instead depicting the “hang-glider” as more akin to a bat or Vampire’s wings.

²⁰⁰ Robinson, Sarah, “Blood Will Tell: Antisemitism and Vampires in British Popular Culture, 1875-1914,” *GOLEM: Journal of Religion and Monsters* 3 (2009): 1.

Figure Twenty-Three: *Kikeriki!* 9 September 1900

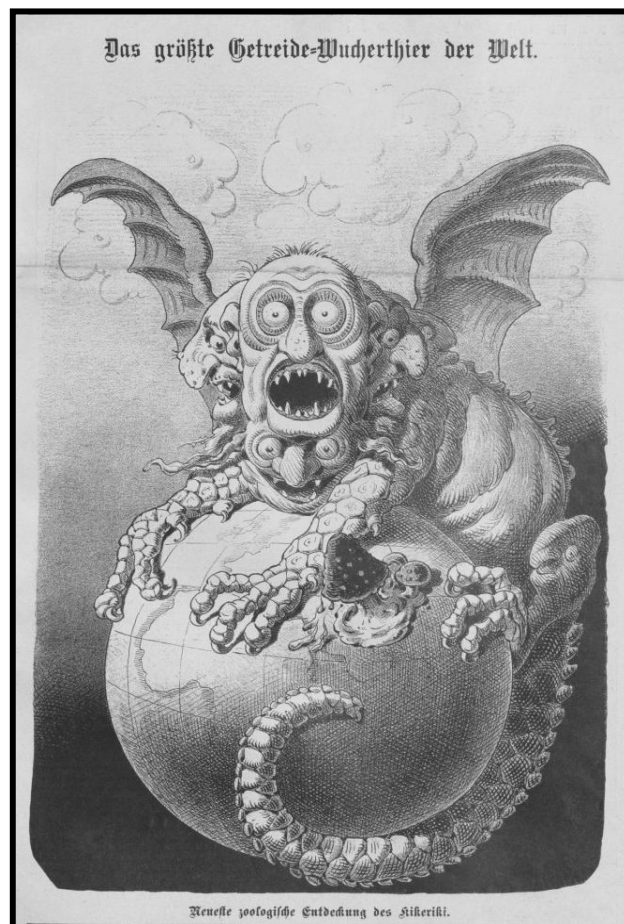


The Airship-Enthusiast Lucian Brunner just had a lovely dream that he himself was a "Hang-glider" and carried away Lueger!

The final image is perhaps the most unsettling of all, depicting the Jew as a pinnacle of fear and hatred: a world-dominating monster (see Figure Twenty-Four). Referencing an alleged scandal regarding corn-price fixing by Viennese Jewish merchants, this cartoon has emerged as a leading example of turn-of-the-century European antisemitism. The cartoonist portrays the Jew as a three-headed monster, complete with traditional Jewish stereotypes. Although present on each head, the far left figure contains the profile of the typical Jewish nose, clearly suggesting to the viewer that the image is not a German, but a Jew. Here, the Jew is grotesque and frightening, perched on top of the world with a scaled arm and tail seemingly grasping at his domain. While the preceding cartoons ridiculed the Jewish society, presenting them as a separate racial entity, this cartoon transforms the Jew into a monster to be

feared. The cartoon serves as a warning to Germans and Europeans of the dangers of Jewish society and alludes to the potential implications if future action is not taken to exclude Jewish influence.

Figure Twenty-Four: *Kikeriki!* 26 May 1898



The biggest corn price managing animal of the world. The latest zoological discovery of Kikeriki!

“The situation cannot improve. It will inevitably get worse – to the point of slaughter. The governments can no longer prevent this, even if they wish to.”

-Theodor Herzl on antisemitism, 7 June 1895

Conclusion

Theodor Herzl’s quote eerily foreshadows the historical outcome of Vienna’s increasingly hostile antisemitic environment. Fin-de-siècle Vienna featured great artists and intellectuals, yet it ultimately produced a form of antisemitism that is eerily foreshadows the German racial policies that culminated with the Holocaust. Although newspapers like *Kikeriki!* did not have readership in the tens of thousands and represented the viewpoint of a radical, minority group, it nonetheless portrayed images that became the defining visualization of European Jewish society during the twentieth century.

This thesis has demonstrated that turn-of-the-century Viennese political antisemitism embodied new elements unlike any previous form of religious-based, historical antisemitism on the European continent. The depiction of Jewish society in political cartoon places them at the bottom of a racial hierarchy, below Africans, Asians, and Europeans. While the African and Asian inhabited foreign continents long regarded as inferior and uncivilized lands, the Jew lived among and regularly interacted with Viennese society. Therefore, the presentation of the Viennese Jew as a

separate race, both subhuman and monstrous, foreshadows European society's eventual exclusion of the Jew from political and social life.

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